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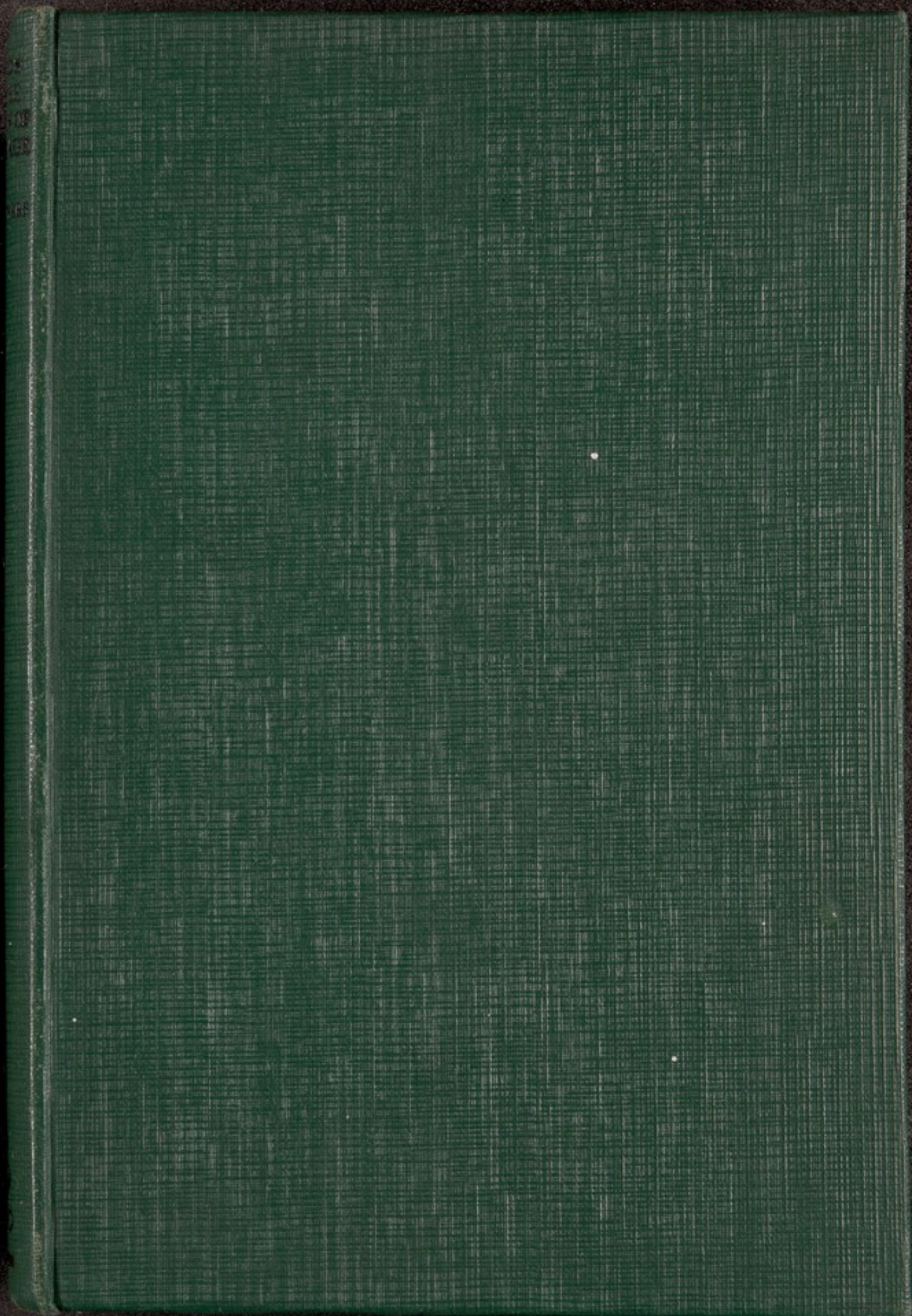
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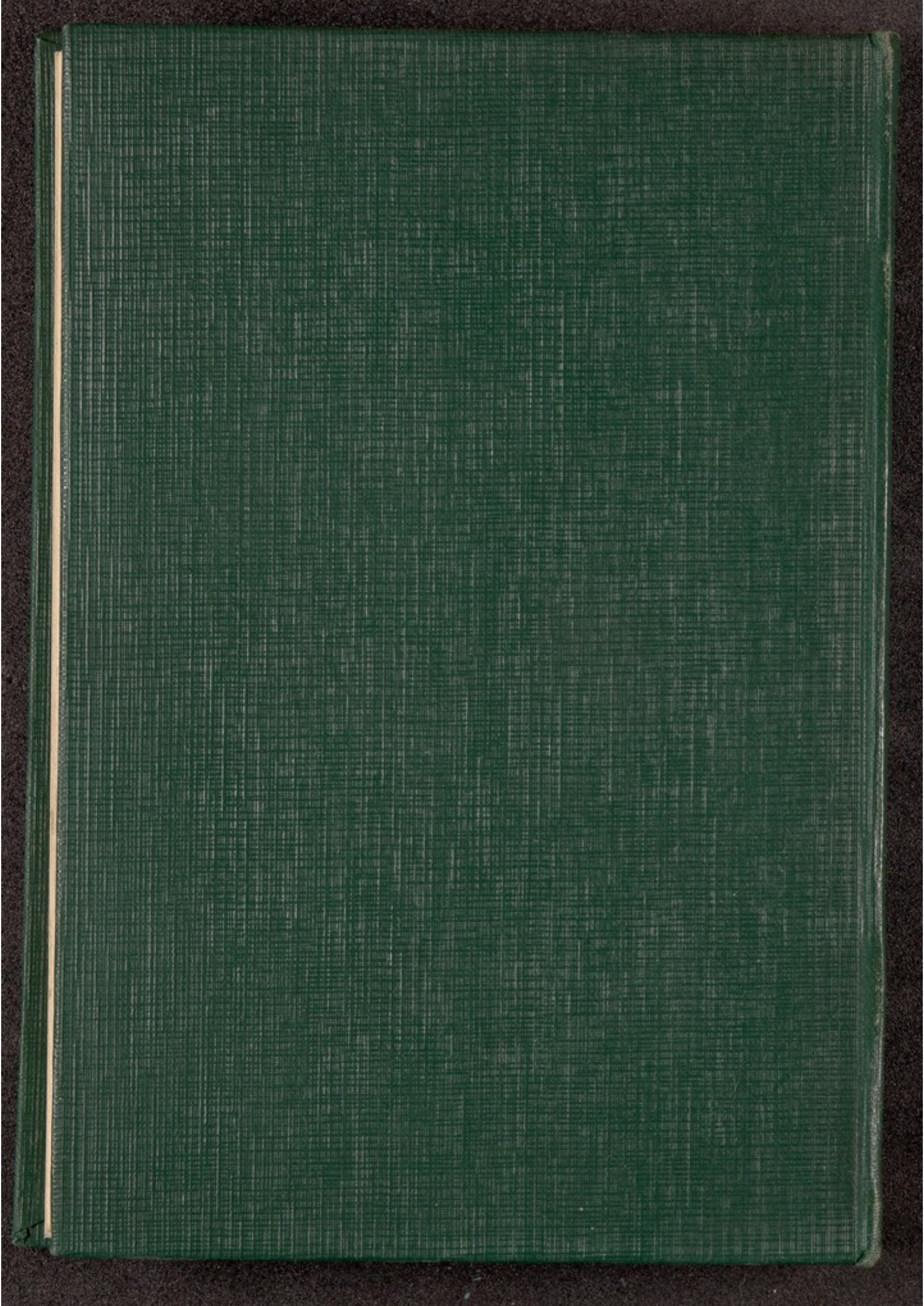
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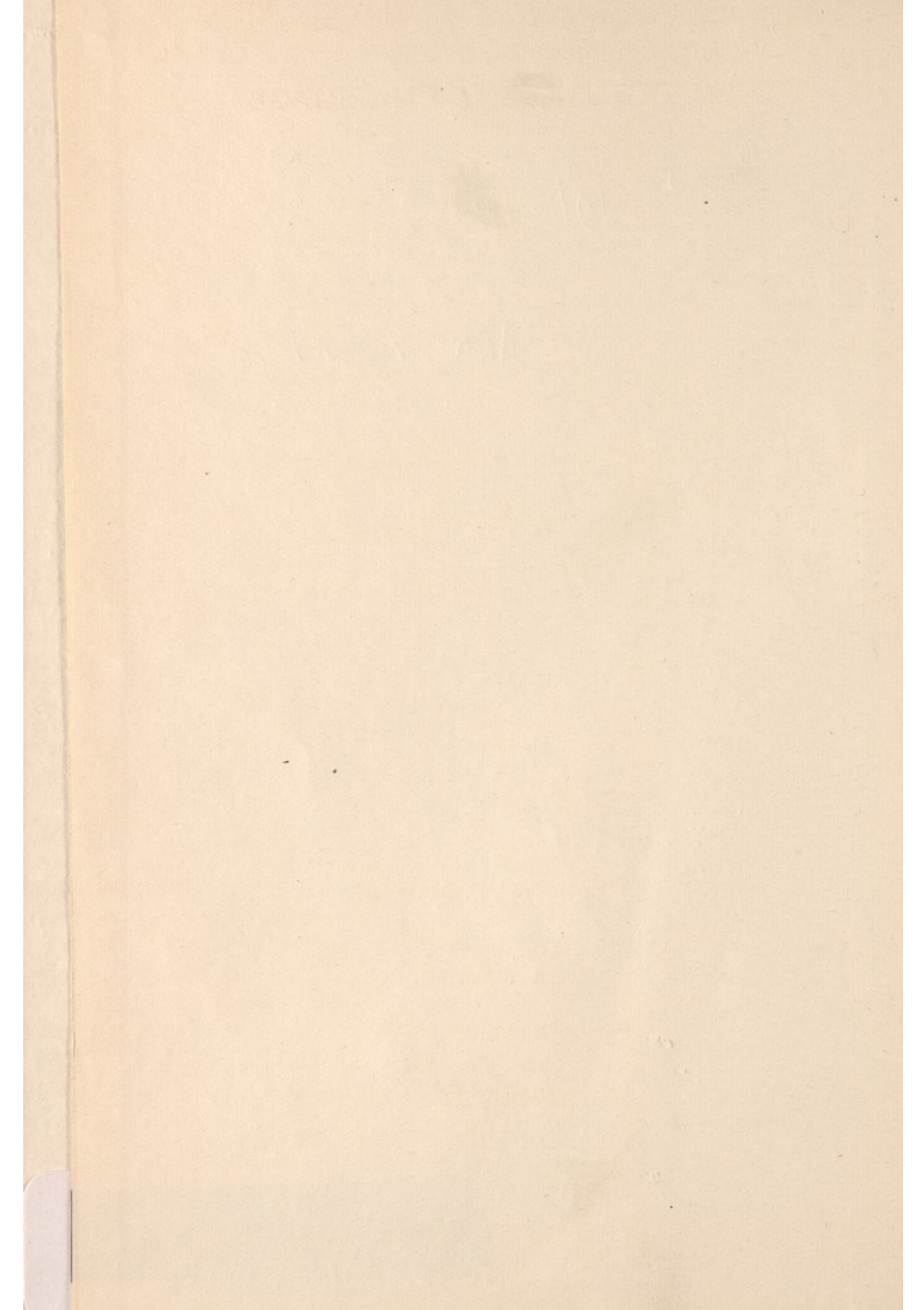


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WEEDS IN THE GARDEN OF MARRIAGE

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

'THE WORLD SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RUSSIAN  
REVOLUTION' (Blackwell), 2nd Ed., 1921.  
(*Out of print.*)

'THE CLASH OF CULTURE AND THE CONTACT  
OF RACES.' An Anthropological and  
Psychological study of the Laws of Racial  
Adaptability, with special reference to the  
Depopulation of the Pacific and the Govern-  
ment of Subject Races.  
London, George Routledge & Sons, 1927.

'AUA ISLAND.' Ethnographic and Socio-  
logical Features of a South Sea Pagan  
Society. *Journ. of the Royal Anthropol. Inst.*,  
Vol. LV., 1925.

'THE REVOLT OF THE WOMEN OF  
CHRISTENDOM.' 'Psyche,' Jan. 1926.

'SEX-RATIOS AND MARRIAGE.' Their Rela-  
tion to Population Growth and Decline.  
*Eugenics Review*, Vol. XXI., April 1929.



# WEEDS IN THE GARDEN OF MARRIAGE

*By*

GEORGE PITT-RIVERS

*B.Sc. (Oxon.); Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland; Fellow Eugenics Society; Elected Member for England of the International Federation of Eugenic Organizations; General Secretary of International Union for the Scientific Investigation of Population Problems.*

*Introduction by*

SIR ARTHUR KEITH,  
*M.D., D.Sc., LL.D., F.R.C.S., F.R.S.*

*Nicht nur fort sollst du dich pflanzen sondern hinauf!  
Dazu helfe dir der Garten der Ehe!*



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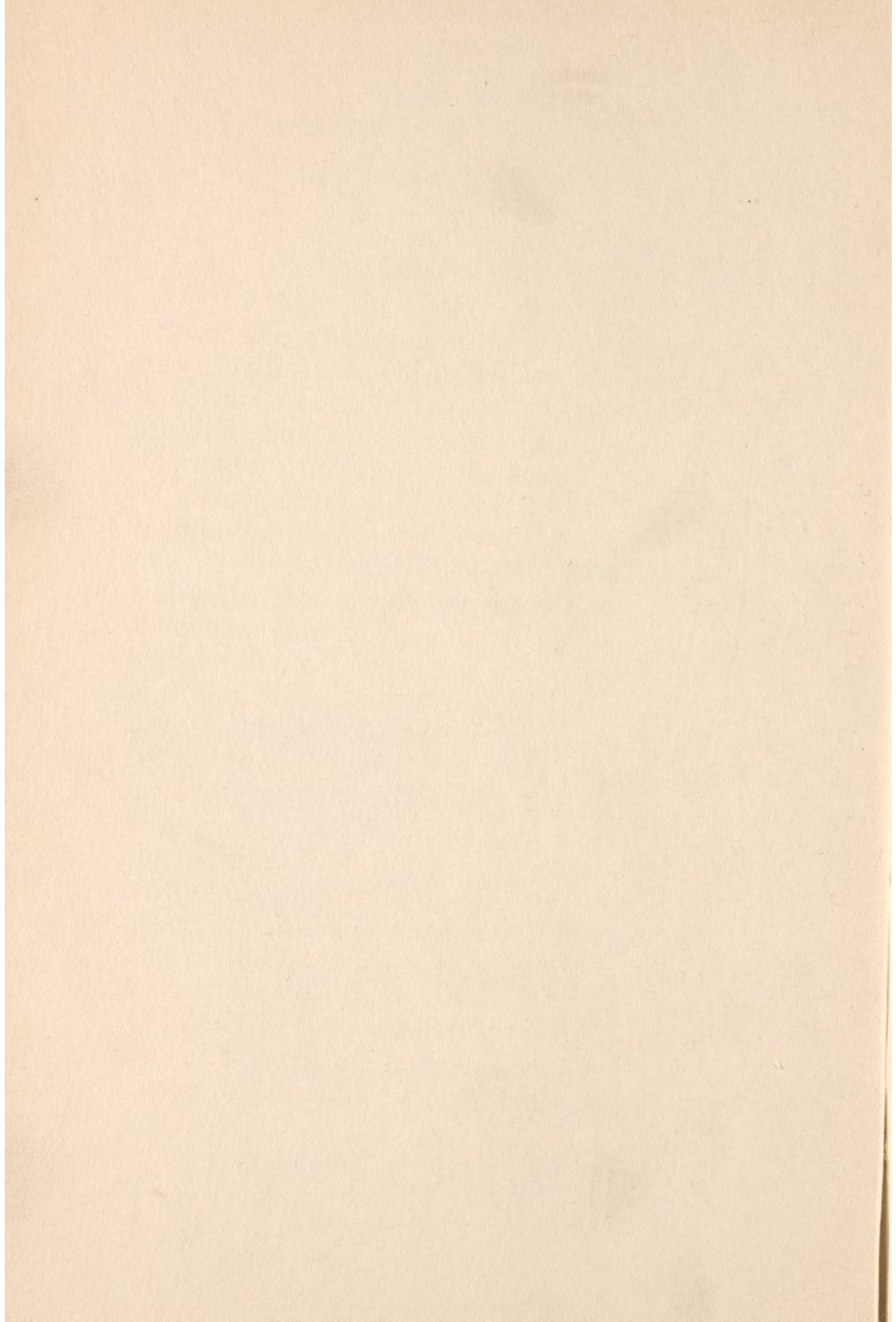
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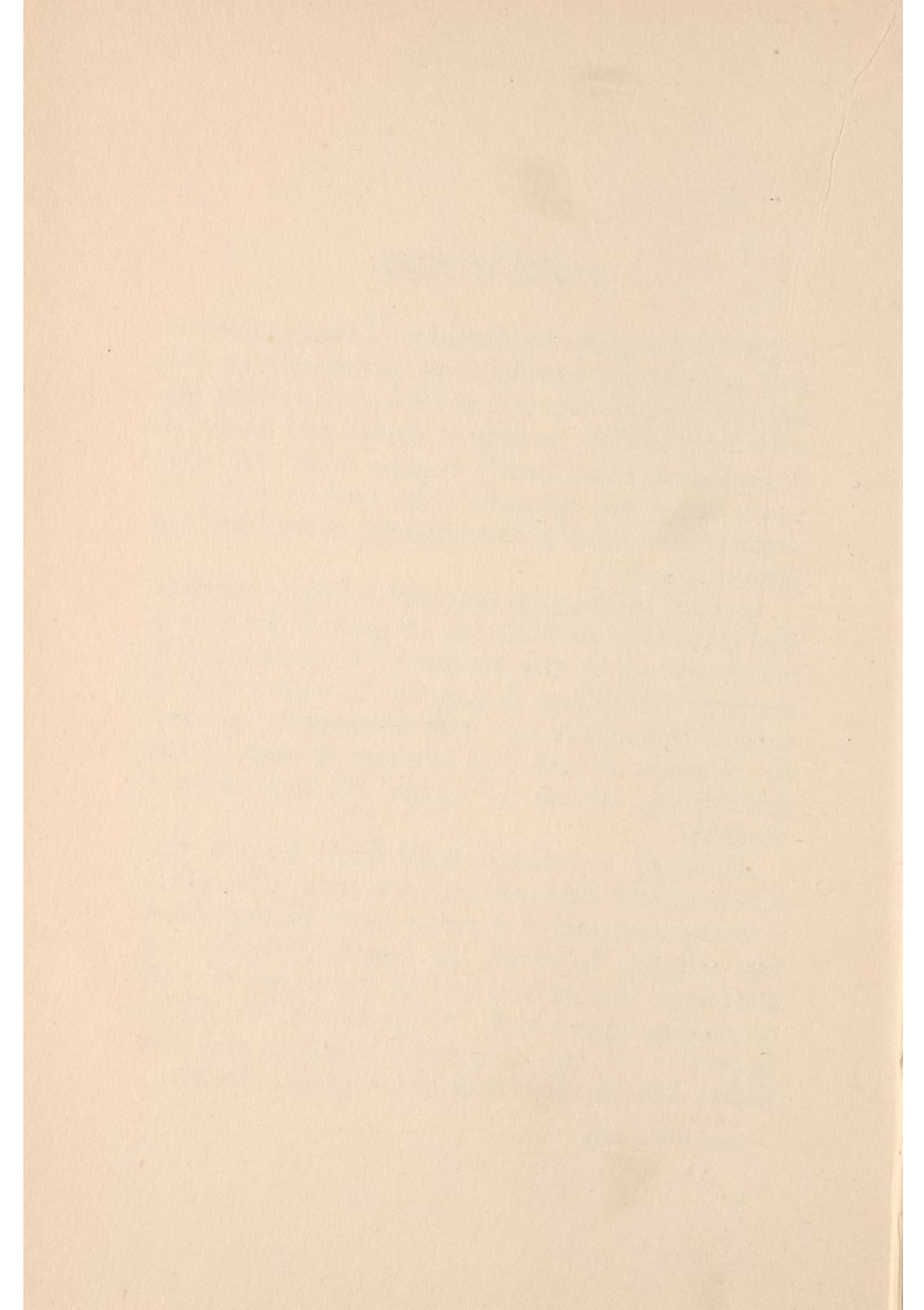
## FOREWORD

IN this book the importance of race problems and population problems is discussed. In the light of the present state of biological knowledge their application to urgent social and political questions is considered, as also their reactions upon religious opinion. The author seeks to explain the lack of understanding of well-known opponents.

In July of the present year a Bill to legalize the voluntary sterilization of mental defectives was rejected by the House of Commons, few members troubling to vote at all, with a lack of serious consideration that eloquently proved the absence of political interest in one of the underlying causes of some of our present troubles.

Although associated with both British and International Eugenic organizations, the author is solely responsible for the views he expresses. He wishes, however, to thank cordially the assistance he received during the stages of proof correction from Dr. C. P. Blacker, M.C., M.D., Secretary of the Eugenics Society, and Mr. Eldon Moore, Editor of the *Eugenics Review*.

August 25th 1931.



## INTRODUCTION

BY SIR ARTHUR KEITH

IT was the name which caught my eye—Pitt-Rivers. I think it was at a meeting of the Royal Anthropological Institute some four or five years ago \* that a young man of this name was reading a paper on the most tragic of all anthropological happenings—the decay and extinction of human races.

It was a subject which appealed to me and I was struck by the freshness and vigour of the speaker's arguments. He had been in the Pacific and had investigated the causes of decay at first-hand. He brushed sentiment aside and laid bare in all their nakedness the causes which he found at work amongst the decaying races of the Pacific. I was struck by his precision of method and of statement, by his insistence on calling things by their proper name, his hatred of Euphemisms, his impatience with those in authority and his inclination to force the truth home by hard knocks rather than by gentle

\*Address to the Royal Anthropological Institute, entitled "Effect on Native Races of contact with European Civilization." Dec. 14th 1926. Published in *Man* 1927. No. 2.

## INTRODUCTION

persuasion. Clearly a young autocrat—with nothing of the democrat in his composition.

Before the young speaker had finished I had been struck by the marvellous degree to which he reproduced the personality, mentality and freshness of outlook of the late General Pitt-Rivers who, fifty years ago, showed the world how an exact use of the spade could make Archæology into true history. I was not surprised to find that my young friend, Captain Pitt-Rivers, the author of this book, was the grandson of the great General; both carried themselves and their clothes with an air of distinction. Both approached their selected problems with a military directness. Both had the same impatience with stupidity and with slack-thinking. The late General devoted his energies and his fortune to uncovering long-dead civilizations; his grandson is now giving his strength and his time to the uncovering of dangers which are latent in our modern civilization and which, if allowed to pass undiagnosed and untreated, will ultimately bring about national death. The causes which bring about the decay of nations, peoples and races have been often discussed before, but never, I think, with the freshness, vigour and knowledge displayed by the author of this little polemic.

In reality this little book by Captain Pitt-Rivers is about heredity—to prove to his fellow-countrymen that the future of our race, of our nation, and of our country, depend upon



## INTRODUCTION

whether or not we are to allow the laws of heredity to go uncontrolled. If we take no heed of them he sees disaster for our nation in the not distant future. If we study these laws and use them—and use them rightly—we may face the future in good heart. Now, it is true that the laws of heredity have been allowed their full natural sway in the world of mankind hitherto. We cannot say that they have worked badly; to say so is a reflection on the parents who begot us. If the world of yesterday were to continue, we might leave matters unchanged. The conditions under which nations live are altering rapidly. The world of to-morrow will be very different from the world of yesterday; populations are to be massed in cities more and more; the risks of national deterioration become more imminent. Under these conditions, and they are already with us, every nation will have to conserve its strength by every available means. A knowledge of heredity must be one of the chief guides. The right application of this knowledge—applied by the people for the people—makes up the subject discussed here by Captain Pitt - Rivers — the subject of Eugenics.

Could a nation practise the doctrine of Eugenics and yet retain to the full a spirit of mercy, charity, fellow sympathy and mutual helpfulness? A society from which these virtues were excluded would be doomed; it would be an inhuman society. Why! these are just the

## INTRODUCTION

qualities which, any people actuated by Eugenic motives would strive to strengthen in its midst. When practised to an indiscriminate extent these virtues may be turned to vices. The reader will find that our author has envisaged all of these possible contingencies.

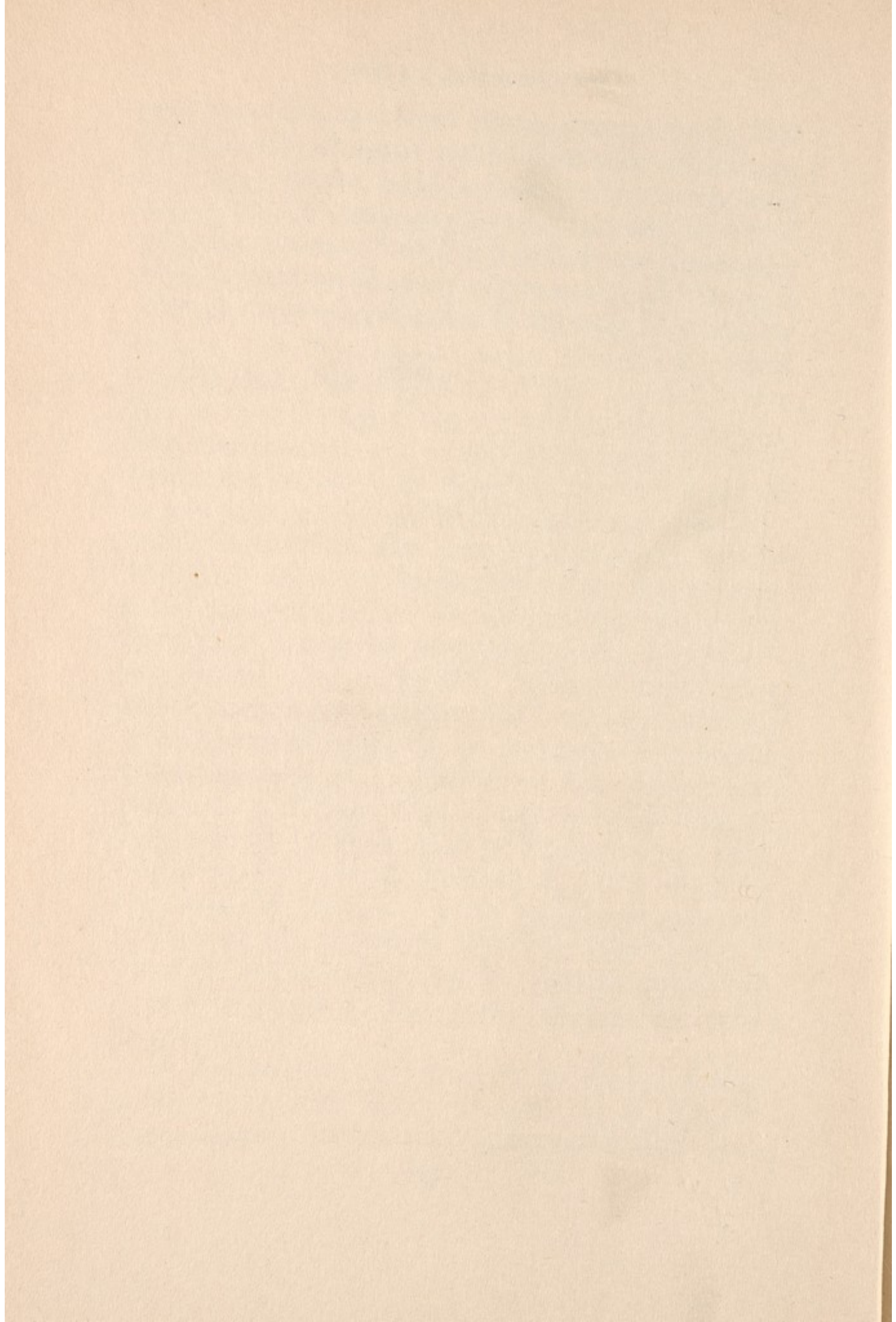
There are many points, I daresay, relating to what should be done to make our nation strong by Eugenic methods in which Captain Pitt-Rivers and I might not see eye to eye. But on two matters we are in entire agreement. The first business of those who believe in Eugenics as a means to national health and happiness is to teach themselves the principles of right breeding and then to teach them to the people until conviction is brought home to every family. It has to be a national, not a legislative movement. We share this point of view. The second ground the author and I have in common is that both of us have that strange—but, thank goodness—common failing of the nationally-minded—a desire that England—the British Isles—shall be great and prosperous, not only while we live, but thousands of years after we are dead. If he and I were rightly constituted citizens of the world all mankind should have a place in our anxiety. Some strange prejudice makes us think of our own country first and foremost.

At the moment at which I write our nation is alarmed at its financial outlook. A disaster looms ahead—which was foreseen by men who

## INTRODUCTION

had given special study to the markets of the world. In this little book Captain Pitt-Rivers sees disaster of another kind stealing on us. We will get out of our present difficulties by tightening our belts, but if our author reads the signs of the times aright there is no kind of belt which will save us if what he foresees comes true.

ARTHUR KEITH.



# CONTENTS

SECT.	PAGE
INTRODUCTION BY SIR ARTHUR KEITH, F.R.S. . . . .	ix
1. CONCERNING LEARNED WRITERS IN A FOOL'S PARADISE, AND A PLEA FOR A LITTLE MORE THINKING. ON THE "RIGHT" OF DEFECTIVES TO BREED . . . . .	I
2. CAN WE MAKE THE WORLD SAFE FOR INTELLIGENCE? WHY MR. G. B. SHAW AND MR. G. K. CHESTER- TON SAY NO . . . . .	10
3. THE TRUTH ABOUT INCEST AND INBREEDING. WHO SHOULD MARRY THEIR COUSINS? . . . . .	19
4. WHY THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH OPPOSES EUGENIC EDUCATION AND EUGENIC PRACTICE. ON STERILIZATION . . . . .	25
5. BIRTH CONTROL AND THE ABORTION RATE . . . . .	36
6. WHY THE JEWISH QUESTION IS DRAGGED IN. PROFESSOR LOWIE AND AMERICAN EUGENISTS . . . . .	45
7. ON CULTURE, RACE AND THE INHERITANCE OF MENTAL TRAITS . . . . .	54
8. WHY POLITICIANS SHOULD CONSIDER THE PROBLEMS OF EUGENICS. RACIAL IDEAS THAT INFLUENCED ANCIENT SPARTA AND MODERN POLYNESIANS . . . . .	63
A PRACTICAL PROGRAMME . . . . .	78
NOTES AND BIBLIOGRAPHIC REFERENCES . . . . .	84
SHORT LIST OF BOOKS RECOMMENDED . . . . .	85



# WEEDS IN THE GARDEN OF MARRIAGE

## § I

*Concerning Learned Writers in a Fool's Paradise,  
and a Plea for a Little More Thinking. On  
the "Right" of Defectives to Breed.*

Man is called upon to solve the problems of his existence. That means that if he is to survive, and, which is more important, is to survive healthily and happily, he must learn to adapt his environment to himself, or adapt himself to it.

Life in our highly evolved and complex civilization is no longer the simple problem it was, and still remains, to the primitive nomad. The power that civilized man has slowly acquired by the accumulated knowledge of generations, that power to increase enormously his numbers and to adapt the world to the ever-growing needs of his ever-increasing progeny, is also a power he may use, indeed actually is using, to destroy himself—his health and happiness.

Those who shout loudest in the market-

places, and who have the biggest audiences, need only learn that people listen most readily to what they wish to hear. It is irksome to be taught to think, and to study facts:—"The interest in what is true ceases as it guarantees less pleasure." Yet there is a time-limit to the comfort that optimism based on ignorance can bring. Thus most of us have by now abandoned the childish futility that comforted the nineteenth century, that belief in an inevitable and never-ending "progress." We should, at any rate, know that it sought support from an obvious misinterpretation of Darwin's law of the survival of the biologically fittest, which means "most adaptable to a given environment." This has nothing to do with the survival of the humanly most desirable. What of the civilizations gone before, of which nothing now remains but a stone or a monument?

Science, the product of a few men's brains, has produced vast machinery; but what sort of man has the machinery produced? Invoking this same law of Darwin's that gave us so much comfort a few years ago, what type of man is best fitted to survive in such an environment? Do we suppose that the mechanical assimilation of a little book-learning, which we so proudly call our Educational System, will alter the whole nature of man in a single generation? In 1928 the medical inspection of 6,000,000 children of school age in England showed that 1,000,000 were so physically or mentally defective as to



be unable to derive appreciable benefit from the free and compulsory education provided by the State.

It is scarcely sixty years since Darwin's work first placed Man in his rightful place among the beasts. It was only gradually that the scientific conception of evolution was allowed to be applied to the human race. Man was too vain and ignorant to believe easily that he could have sprung from ugly ape-like creatures, so he sought refuge in the story that God had created him from the start quite differently, and with a mysterious, distinctive, unexplainable something he called a soul. Until recently the study of human origins was looked upon as a blasphemous and pagan pursuit; for all questions of human origin had been settled by theology.

At the ninth meeting of the International Federation of Eugenic Organizations, held in September, 1930, among the rural surroundings of a Dorset village, Sir Arthur Keith, addressing an audience which included representative scientists from some eighteen different countries, said, "The possibilities of eugenic reform depend on the extent to which human nature can be rationalized. Reproduction is to be brought before a tribunal of reason. There are signs which lead me to think that the times are favourable." The occasion is noteworthy in the history of the Eugenics movement: a movement due to the genius of Sir Francis Galton, some thirty years before.

## WEEDS IN THE GARDEN OF MARRIAGE

Much misunderstanding still survives as to what Eugenics stands for. If there are still doubts as to its status, both scientific and moral, it cannot be too strongly emphasized that Eugenics is an applied science; that is to say, the application of, or the endeavour to apply, knowledge derived from the pure sciences of biology (the science of living organisms), and from a branch of that science, genetics (the science of heredity).

The facts discovered by researches in biology and genetics relate, of course, to all living organisms, to plants and animals equally with mankind, and so far as any man tries to apply his knowledge and experience to improve the stock in his garden or his farm-yard, to encourage the growth of stronger or healthier plants, or to eradicate weakness or disease amongst his cattle or horses, by encouraging the survival of his healthiest and finest strains, so far is he acting eugenically.

To condemn or criticize such endeavour would be regarded as idiotic and mischievous, yet when these ideals, based on greater knowledge and a desire to increase happiness, are applied to the human race, a host of denunciatory critics, strange as it may seem, have been known to spring up.

Eugenics, whatever the nonsense that may be talked about it against it or for it, is one of the most important and humanly valuable applications of the key science of Anthropology, the

science of Man. No movement that attempts to do or to teach something positive can fail to meet with opposition. Self-satisfaction and indolence do not easily tolerate a challenge. Critics of Eugenics do not attack it from the same angle, so that it is difficult in any one statement to allay their fears or prejudices, but a brief examination of some of their objections may serve to clear up, and perhaps throw further light on, the chief of their misunderstandings. For it is as important to state what Eugenics is *not*, as to state what it is.

In a general way we can distinguish those who are fearful of the eugenics movement because they suppose it may be effective and do too much, and perhaps do the wrong things. They fear encroachments on personal liberty. From the opposite angle there are others who fear that the whole effort of Eugenic Education can only be futile, because it must be impotent. And then there are those who regard it as a challenge to their own comfortable optimism, a profane doubt cast on their trust in God's safe ordering of the best of all possible worlds; for if all is well and necessarily getting better and better without care or forethought, there can be no need for it.

This last group of critics are the "meliorists," the believers in inevitable progress. These view all change, whether from the political, social, æsthetic, or evolutionary angle as necessarily leading from a lower to a higher state towards

## WEEDS IN THE GARDEN OF MARRIAGE

a distant Utopia of ideal perfection. They include both modernists and sentimental traditionalists clinging to Messianic hopes. In this group Radicals, looking at to-morrow for further instalments of the changes they accept complacently to-day, join with those Conservatives who accept what has happened to-day because it began before yesterday. Both refuse to listen to the conservator who must try to conserve for the present and the future all and only that legacy from the past which is healthy and sound.

Disillusionment overtakes those who live in a fool's paradise; truth cannot indefinitely be ignored. It would be altogether too unappreciative of all that idealism and scientific education have accomplished, not to note with some justifiable satisfaction their progress in influencing serious public opinion in England as well as in almost every civilized country in the world.

That progress is shown in the growing respect for and interest in biological education that the great public has begun to take; in the increasing influence it is beginning to have on social affairs; in the attitude towards infant and maternal welfare and mortality, towards hygiene and morbidity; and last, but I fear also least of all, in its influence upon politics and legislation, the least competently and scientifically organized department of our national life.

In the fact that we are becoming conscious of eugenics we acknowledge our growing con-

sciousness of a danger. We are progressing in our awareness of racial, physical and mental degeneration. We have begun to suspect that we are becoming a weaker, feebler and unhealthier stock.

The meaning of observable facts was beginning to dawn upon us when, at the end of the War, we studied the report issued by Sir James Galloway's Committee on the national standard of physical fitness (as the result of an analysis of Medical Board Examinations), a report which should have convinced the most obstinate that the enormous preponderance of the physically unfit over the physically fit male population could no longer be disregarded. Two in every three of the men of military age, recruited in the last year of the War, failed to reach the not very high standard which qualified them as A1, or fit to shoulder a rifle in the firing line. And that fit majority we proceeded to kill off.

More of us are beginning to do some thinking when we learn, on the authority of the Mental Deficiency Committee of 1929, that a conservative estimate of the certifiable mental defectives in England and Wales (*not* including the insane) places the number at 300,000. That is roughly eight per thousand of the population of England and Wales. That figure is far short of what the total would be if border-line cases were included, and, of course, it ignores the "carriers" (the apparently fairly normal parents of defective offspring). We learn also on the authority of

the same Committee that the incidence of mental defect has considerably increased in the last twenty years and is still increasing; it is, in fact, roughly double the number computed by the Royal Commission in 1906, and more than double the number of notified insane; and, according to Dr. Tredgold, at least 80 per cent. of mental deficiency is due to hereditary causes.

There must be crass stupidity in our system of meeting such a state of affairs by the expedient of increasing the unconditional subsidization of all *below* the minimum acceptable standard of life. We are, in effect, continually stimulating the increase of the very poorest strata of society (I do not refer to the poorest economically, but to the poorest physically and mentally), and of those in all classes who renounce, or are incapable of maintaining, a fair and healthy standard of life by their own skill and exertions.

On the other hand, we effect a *pro rata* decrease—in effect a compulsory sterilization—of those with a higher standard of life who are called upon to bear the burden of the unfit. Every self-supporting man or woman bears on his or her back a proportion of the increasing dead-weight of those who cannot support themselves. We have now reached a stage where, it is estimated, over one in every ten of the population is incapable of supporting himself.

To this army of defectives and incapables

must be added the shiftless suckers on the productive community, those work-shy unemployables, who contribute nothing but a belly to be filled to the intricate complexity of the modern State. Their increase actually limits the survival of the stock they batten on, which educates them to fulfil no other function than to remain dole-fed, dole-taught and married on the dole, to spawn wantonly over the land. These are the fathers and mothers of the nation, the replacement stock of the future population. This is the Dysgenic State.

The problem can be stated in terms biological, statistical, or economic: in terms of differential birth and survival rates: in terms of the heredity and the transmission of ability and defect: and in terms, if they are the sole ones in which we can think, of the cost. Solely because politics have ceased to be concerned with intelligent issues and the real welfare and survival of the community, are they not recognized as the only problems of real political importance.

Since it is usually only in terms of cost that politicians sometimes allude to the burden of the State-supported, we have to remind them, for instance, that the expenditure on County and Borough Mental Hospitals in the financial year ending March 31st, 1921, was over £7,900,000, and since then has considerably increased. The Drage reports show that the

expenditure in England in subsidizing the non-self-supporting, under all heads:—Insurance, Pensions, Prisons, Reformatory and Industrial Schools, Education, Unemployed, Poor Relief, Lunacy, Inebriates, Mental Deficiency and Health; rose from 20 millions in 1891 to over 103 millions in 1918, and now stands (not reckoning the most recent increases) at some £400,000,000 a year.

The bulk of the taxation and its effect in the increased cost of living fall most onerously on those very classes of healthy, industrious, and independent persons who derive little or no benefit from it, and who will dwindle as the others increase.

Is it not time to do a little more thinking? But our "Melioristic" critics hate thinking, they prefer to go on repeating after the manner of M. Coué, "Every day and in every way we are getting better and better," with the fervent conviction that the emotional ardour of their wishes will somehow change the whole world to accord with them.

## § 2

*Can we Make the World Safe for Intelligence?  
Why Mr. G. B. Shaw and Mr. G. K.  
Chesterton say No.*

A widely read and popular exponent of this convenient little theory of the omnipotence of



the emotional wish over intelligence and reason was Benjamin Kidd, who expounded it in his book *The Science of Power*<sup>1</sup>; a book read by thousands of enthusiasts immediately after the War, all agog to strut becomingly in the new world "fit for heroes to live in" and "made safe for democracy," though increasingly unsafe for intelligence. Exhorting his readers to "become as little children" in the credulous acceptance of their most comforting beliefs, he inspires them with an assurance he borrows from Mr. H. G. Wells, that "the human mind has always accomplished progress by its construction of Utopias."

But from his egalitarian Utopia of dead-level mediocrity the ideal of a healthier, disease-free, nobler, finer, more intelligent race of men and women was rigorously excluded. Such an ideal he denounces as "the futilities of Eugenics, ignorantly endeavouring to construct a science of civilization out of the Darwinism of the animal." The turgidity of the verbiage may have conveyed more meaning to Kidd's "omnipotence of emotion" than to the "cold intellectual Reason of the West" he so hotly denounced. In its place, this muddled dabbler in biological writings he never mastered nor understood, proclaims "the gradual assertion in the history of the world of the equal value of every human life," a statement which either has no *earthly* meaning, or else implies that in this world the burbling of a microcephalic idiot

is worth as much as the words of our greatest philosopher, scientist, or poet. But perhaps it only means that the writings of Mr. Benjamin Kidd have no earthly value.

Ranged on the side of the "Meliorists" in their contempt or denunciation of what they suppose Eugenics to be we find such a professed egalitarian and recalcitrantly cynical individualist as Mr. G. B. Shaw. What is most pleasing about Mr. Shaw is the contempt he scarcely veils for the people who pander to his vanity; but it makes it all the more difficult to penetrate beneath his humorous paralogisms and satirical quips to his real opinions; for I am willing enough to believe that he may have some that really matter. Mr. Shaw has thought it worth his while to place on record his respect for the time-worn adage "A silk purse cannot be made out of a sow's ear." <sup>2</sup>

Yet if we are to judge by his writings he believes that the highest pitch of cultured sensibility can be formed out of a universal equal income and a common equal education.

We must also credit him with a preference, expressed in his own words, for a "fully fed, presentably clothed, decently housed and gently mannered family, over a half-starved, ragged, frowsy, overcrowded one." Yet—as I have noted—the incorrigible tutelage of his apprenticeship to Fabian economics leads him

to suppose that such a modestly ambitious Utopia can only be reached by the Procrustean method of equalizing incomes on an economic bed. We can only suppose that because biology has never had a place in the Fabian educational curriculum Mr. Shaw has been so taught to juggle with categories that he can deduce from the fallacious premise, "If every family were brought up at the same cost, we should all have the same habits, manners, culture, and refinements" the really egregious *non sequitur* "If the race did not improve under these circumstances, it must be unimprovable"—a statement that, after all, has no more originality than may reside in daring to refurbish in an aphoristic form the long-discredited supposition of Locke, that the human, unlike all other species, starts its individual existence with a dead-level uniformity of impressionable blankness, a *tabula rasa*, ready to be shaped by whatever chance environment it is nurtured in.

A commonplace fallacy is only worthy of refutation if made by a person of the eminence of Mr. Shaw; on that score it is sufficient to demonstrate its absurdity by referring to some of the investigated cases of identical (monozygotic) and dissimilar (dizygotic) twins. Identical twins are persons, always of the same sex, produced from the same ovum and therefore having the same inherited qualities and showing in identical physical and mental characteristics throughout life, even when brought up

## WEEDS IN THE GARDEN OF MARRIAGE

in totally different environments, in different social strata, and in different countries. Dissimilar twins are developed out of the same womb from separate fertilized ova; and the recorded histories of such twins show, in contrast, the normal variational dissimilarities (like other brothers and sisters of unlike ages) to be expected from their greater variation of genetic characters, even when nurtured in the same home, and under the same educational and environmental influences. Further, persons of different family, breed, class and race, tend to differ very much more than do even dissimilar twins, irrespective of environment. We may study these differences, for example, among children brought up in the same orphanage.

Mr. Shaw's notion of Eugenics, which is apparently shared by some of the other critics we shall have to notice, is that some busybodies wish to set up a government department to decide how many different types of human beings are desirable, and how many persons of each type, and then to breed them after the approved methods of the farmyard. "There is nothing for it," he says, "but to let people choose their mates for themselves (which they can only do if their incomes are equal) and trust to Nature to produce a good result." The answer, of course, is that no intelligent Eugenist has ever advocated anything so stupid as a Socialistic government department, compul-

sorily allotting men and women to each other in order to breed; for nothing could be further removed from the Eugenic ideal of teaching every individual a far greater sense of responsibility in mate selection than they show at present. They advocate, for instance, the exchange of certificates of health before marriage, which would enable men and women to know what they are risking and what they are selecting far more accurately than they can by the present blind and thoughtless choice of mates. And as for trusting Nature to produce good results, it is simply biological blasphemy to spell Nature or Providence or any other vaguely conceived abstraction with a "capital" and to trust that it will override the inevitable consequences of our own foolishness. If Nature prompts a fool to select a fool to mate with, which is all that we can expect of fools, there is plenty of evidence that the result will be more fools. Contrary to Mr. Shaw's opinion, imbeciles and epileptics do breed their like; plenty of pedigrees from the notorious Juke family to the more scientifically compiled, and therefore more trustworthy, genealogies in the annals of recent Eugenic Researches are available.<sup>3</sup> The fact that defectives are often the offspring of "carriers" who do not themselves show the symptoms of defect is no evidence of the non-transmissibility of defect; on the contrary, some defects such as hæmophilia or colour blindness, for instance, are sex-linked,

WEEDS IN THE GARDEN OF MARRIAGE  
and will appear in alternate generations in only  
one sex.

It is odd to find Mr. G. K. Chesterton in the same camp as Mr. G. B. Shaw, but perhaps it is only Eugenics which brings them together as ill-assorted champions of Liberty: for they appear to have nothing in common except that they both conceive Eugenics as a threat to it. So Mr. Chesterton devoted a whole book to *Eugenics and other Evils*,<sup>4</sup> in which, to add to our confusion as conscientious critics of critics, we find Mr. Shaw, and Mr. Shaw's Puritanism, and Mr. Shaw's Socialism, and his Egalitarianism and his Atheism, included in the "other Evils."

The truth is, of course, that Mr. Chesterton is much less concerned in discovering what Eugenics is all about, than in discovering that whatever it is all about, it is not the same as the true Chestertonian - Catholic - Anti-Puritan-Anti-Socialistic-Pro-Beer Faith, and therefore, in the logic of "he who is not with me is against me," necessarily Evil, even the very type of Evil personified. In these circumstances it would be unprofitable to try to refute Mr. Chesterton's main contention, which is concerned with the incompatibility of Eugenics with his own Catholicism. It may or it may not be so: we are content merely to observe that the application of biological knowledge to

human affairs rests on a principle less liable to evolutionary changes than do even the dogmas of a religious faith and *their* application to human affairs; Catholicism is more liable to become Eugenic than Eugenics to become Catholic. But, since Mr. Chesterton would probably deny this, we should get no further on in the argument.

But when, in order to warn the faithful against this heretical faith, Eugenics, Mr. Chesterton tries to describe it, we do him the courtesy of believing that he has sufficient readers to make it worth our while to warn them that he really knows no more than Mr. Shaw does about Eugenics—which is very little indeed.

We may have to admit, if some of our critics insist on comparing two things which are not strictly comparable, that, by definition, the dogmas of Catholicism are absolute, however liable to change their application may be, but biological dogmas and hypotheses are constantly subject to refinement or modification in accordance with discoverable and ascertained knowledge, while the principles of their eugenic application must reside in an immutable determination to be guided by what we know of the unchanging laws of Nature. In consequence, Eugenists need not all agree in the details of their biological faith, though to earn the title they must be consistent in their readiness to admit and apply all established facts. In any

case, since some people will talk nonsense whatever they call themselves, it is well to remember that to expose the nonsense of someone calling himself a Eugenist is no criticism of Eugenics.

The principal charge that Mr. Chesterton, like some other Catholics, brings against Eugenics is that of a desire to set up a "bullying Bureaucracy" to prevent people marrying whom they like. He asserts that Eugenics propose "to control some families at least as if they were families of pagan slaves." This he calls its "shortest general definition." The shortest general refutation of this non-defining definition consists in pointing out that to inculcate responsibility and be taught to regulate our conduct to conform, so far as possible, to the known laws of heredity, is, although regulative, the very reverse of oppressive; it aims at enlarging our scope of wise and responsible action, not at limiting it. And it would do so no less because it would also limit irresponsibility among those already proved incapable of responsibility. It would limit the wanton procreation of idiots, imbeciles, homicidal maniacs and contagious syphilitics, who had already become, in any case, a social care and burden.

Quite apart from the groundlessness of this charge that Eugenists wish to interfere with freedom of marriage and of these charges of coercion and repression, it is curious that the persons making them should speak in the name



of Catholicism, of that Church which sets the seal of its approval on the mating of cretins in the valley of Aosta, yet prohibits the marriage of cousins, of uncles and nieces by marriage, of blood relatives and of other unrelated connexions. It forbids by Canon Law "with the greatest strictness marriages between baptized persons, one of whom is a Catholic and the other a member of a heretical sect," while it prohibits the relief of divorce and remarriage to those whose continued mating can only lead to misery to themselves and a home of discord and vicious precept for the luckless offspring.

Why these prohibitions, if "sexual selection or what Christians call falling in love, is a part of man which in the long run can be trusted, and which is a point in favour of letting people marry anyone they like?"

### § 3

#### *The Truth about Incest and Inbreeding. Who should Marry their Cousins?*

Mr. Chesterton suggests that at least these prohibitions of the Church, most of them embodied in the civil law, "which begin with the celebrated denial to man of the privilege of marrying his grandmother," merely sanctify "the motives for the horror of that horrible thing which is the agony of Œdipus"; and

that a consciously Eugenic reason for the horror of incest and inbreeding is a discovery at last by the lamp of learning of what has been acted on from the first by the light of nature.

In both particulars Mr. Chesterton is wrong. Quite simply stated, I know of more Eugenic reasons in favour of inbreeding than against it, and the correctness of the assumption that taboos against incest and inbreeding have everywhere been acted upon from the first is certainly challengeable in fact. To a psychologist it is apparent that "the horror of that horrible thing" is no more than the horror of being regarded with horror, and Dr. Freud is certainly right in pointing out that the existence of so many pains, penalties and prohibitions is in itself good evidence of a very general incest wish (often unconscious or repressed), since man only takes pains to prohibit that which would otherwise be more often desired and done. The only horror that Lord Byron and his half-sister evinced in their incestuous union was at the horror they assumed it might evoke. Where there have been no prohibitions there has been no horror. Brother and sister marriages were the rule in the Ptolemaic royal families, and the same applied to the ancient Sumerian civilization. For to retain a throne "a king's son was bound to marry his sister or, failing his sister, his own mother."<sup>5</sup>

The extent to which the closest inbreeding

has been practised all over the world has been much obscured by later ethico-theological prejudices, which have even succeeded in influencing opinions ostensibly based upon biological facts. The notion of incest, as we understand it in Christendom, which borrowed it from the Romans, Greeks and Hebrews, seems to have been quite foreign to the ancient Egyptians, and it is still expected in Egypt that a man should marry his uncle's daughter. Even the God of the ancient Hebrews must have changed his mind about it, since he instituted marriage in the second chapter of the book of Genesis, and provided that Adam's sons should marry their sisters.

The notion of the injurious consequences of inbreeding is undoubtedly of religious origin, and it is not based on the study of biology or genetics. Having got so far it may occur to the general reader to ask, "what actually are the biological consequences of inbreeding? Or, in what way may consanguineous matings be expected to affect the quality of the offspring?"

Technically, the answer is that the only demonstrable effect of inbreeding on organisms is the isolation of homozygous types. In non-technical language, this means that by inbreeding or by continued consanguineous crosses we get rid of hybrid (heterozygotic) conditions, and so intensify the qualities of the stock. In outbreeding between non-related individuals, who show or carry contrasted qualities, a pro-

portion of the offspring will carry the qualities (unit characters) of either parent in a hidden, latent, or "recessive" form; and in their turn will transmit these characteristics to their descendants and spread them ever more widely in the population. Latent or "recessive" characteristics thus broadcast in a population are preserved genetically, though their spread and increase may not become apparent at the same rate, whether such qualities are good or bad, whether they have survival value or not.

By inbreeding a stock showing traceable defects or malformations which are definite handicaps in the struggle for life, such defects become intensified, and the individuals most inbred and affected (homozygous) tend thereby to get weeded out. This process could be illustrated in recorded histories of even such minor malformations of the fingers and toes as brachydactyly or brachyphalangy. In all recorded cases persons showing this trait have always married normal individuals, whose descendants have therefore been hybrid for the character. But in a Norwegian family where the defect was traced through each generation to a woman born in 1764, two descendants intermarried, producing a cripple without fingers or toes, who died young, unable to develop. The same laws and consequences are illustrated in the interbreeding of mental defectives.

In stock that is strong and healthy, with the

characteristics that make for superior ability and functional and organic fitness, inbreeding must perpetuate and strengthen all that is of greatest value in the human race. For whether any single trait or characteristic is capable of being traced, analysed, or (in a genetic sense) isolated, or not, the same general principles must be at work in the processes of nature.

The ideal of Eugenics is to combine in the same individuals, so far as possible, the finest qualities both of mind and body, by teaching people the importance of heredity when they look for mates, and the danger to the race of mixing good blood with bad. But from the Eugenic point of view, notwithstanding that Eugenists may, perhaps, be found who would not agree, it is far better that defective stock should intermarry and make apparent recessive defects, the more closely related the better, than mate with normal stock. Also the best stock should choose their like, even within their own kinship.

There is ample justification for the view that an occasional cross followed by a long period of inbreeding has been the history of every successful breeding experiment, whether consciously pursued or as the result of endogamic customs or mere chance, whether in man or the lower animals. It is evident that this statement is made from the general racial point of view. From the individual family point of view, it is equally evident that in a population such as

ours, with defects and weaknesses of every sort disseminated through generations of coddling precautions against the drastic purging of natural selection, inbreeding may often lead either to extinction or to an intensification of the stigmata of degeneration. If, therefore, we individually wish to leave finer descendants than ourselves we must be doubly sure of comparative freedom from defect in our pedigree before we marry a close cousin. It is, indeed, a testimony to the fine quality of a stock which produces a Cleopatra out of the union of a brother and sister. On the other hand, there are grounds for believing that in-and-in breeding continued over a long number of generations may lead eventually to overspecialization and loss of the adaptability that makes for racial survival and to sterility and lower fertility.

We may note, parenthetically, that our laws against incest, and our prohibitions of marriage of near kin pay little actual regard to degrees of inbreeding. For instance, the crossing of brother and sister is much closer than between father and daughter, since in the latter instance he crosses with only half his own blood, as also does a half-brother with his half-sister. The offspring of double first cousins, descended from great-grandparents who are also first cousins, might have only six great-great-great-grandparents (not themselves related) out of a possible thirty-two, and would therefore be much more closely inbred than, for instance,

the child of a half-brother and half-sister, who, in the same number of generations back, might have twelve, his grandfather and each wife of his grandfather having themselves four grandparents. Similarly, the offspring of the mating of first cousins may be more closely inbred than the offspring of a father with his daughter.

## § 4

*Why the Roman Catholic Church opposes Eugenic Education and Eugenic Practice. On Sterilization.*

Apart from Mr. Chesterton's anti-Eugenic polemics, it still remains regrettably apparent that the most determined opposition to Eugenic education comes from Roman Catholics; and that that opposition is focussed upon any proposals, not emanating from their own authorities, which seek to ameliorate or amend conditions surrounding the institution of marriage. It fiercely resents even any discussion of that institution, whether it touches on procreation or on the relationship of the sexes, in spite of the glaring fact that throughout the civilized world, wherever marriage and the sexual morality supporting it have been based on theological and religious sanctions, it has most conspicuously broken down.

Eugenists as such, however, are less concerned

to amend the institution of marriage than to ensure that, amended or unamended, it shall cease to be held to sanctify in its working the avoidable deterioration of the human stock and, in Dr. Schiller's phrase, "the rapid proliferation of *human weeds* under the conditions created by cultivation."

In this supposedly scientific age it remains a melancholy fact that the regulation of marriage and sexual relationships is constantly being undertaken or advocated by persons who ignore or are totally ignorant of even the most elementary facts that biological and psychological sciences have laboriously accumulated—as though the only equipment or qualification necessary to entitle them to interfere with the most intimate and potent force in the lives of other men and women was some acquired notions that pleased their vanity or assuaged the conflicts arising from their own morbidity, which they dignify with the titles of Morality or Religion.

Do we need to ask the reason for the Church of Rome's uncompromising attitude not merely to marriage reformers and sexual reformers, but towards such questions as the Eugenic betterment of the human race? If in heaven "there is neither marriage nor giving in marriage," should not the regulation of that institution serve human needs in this world, regardless of the needs of the world we know nothing about? And if existence in this world



is but a preparation for "Eternity," why argue from the unknown to the known? In spite of the fact that the Roman Church has remained the most efficiently institutionalized, the most politically minded, the most zealous in claiming to preserve the integration of the family—the very basis of all communal development and of civilization—and the most authoritarian of all the Christian Churches, she has yet subordinated all her teachings on social, mundane, this-worldly morality, to subserve a supernatural other-worldly valuation. In other words, she states that whatever the physical or worldly consequences of our conduct may be, they are of *no* consequence whatsoever except in relation to a world of values which has no meaning on this earth. And in these terms they express themselves: "Writing as a Catholic," Father Stanislaus St. John, a popular Jesuit writer, prefaced some remarks on the wickedness of the things Eugenists were said to advocate, "I look on this life as utterly meaningless in itself, as a period which is simply and solely a means to an end—Eternity—a period of which all the circumstances of pleasure and pain can only be explained and rightly used in relation to this Eternity."

Two Catholic publicists (The Rev. J. B. McLaughlin, O.S.B., and A. P. Mooney, M.D.) launched a pamphlet (published by the Catholic Social Guild, 1920) against Eugenics, entitled *The Catholic Attitude to the Ministry of*

*Health*, from which the following excerpts will serve :—

“Formerly a man who spent his time in considering which of the family ought to be killed and which mutilated, was locked up as a dangerous lunatic or degenerate. But now he is called a Eugenist. Such men will work under the Ministry of Health.” “These people, being in charge of the hospital system, and the medical service, and the visitation of our homes, would have every opportunity of educating the nation down to their own savage level. . . . Morality must not be sacrificed to health. . . .” Eugenic principles are stigmatized as “Pagan principles and Immoral Proposals.”

Care for the soul does not appear to be altogether consistent with care for the body.

Finally, the official Roman Catholic attitude towards matters which come within the ambit of Eugenic discussion has been clarified by a Papal Encyclical, *Casti Connubii*, dated December 31st, 1930, and republished on January 8th, 1931.<sup>6</sup> This pronouncement has reference to marriage, divorce, birth control and the use of contraceptives, eugenics and the sterilization of the unfit, the procuring of abortions, sex education and kindred matters. Though it adds little to what had been made apparent before, it re-states in a convenient form the underlying assumptions of the Church in its attitude towards, and control of, an institution which it derives from Divinity. Hence it “cannot be

subject to any human decrees," still less to any human wisdom. Clearly, marriage was not made for man, but man for the glory of God.

There can, in truth, be no point of contact between those who study "natural laws," and those who presume to ignore them by right of the privilege and superior wisdom derived from direct intercourse with the Deity. Yet the Roman Pontiff's claims transcend even his prerogative as sole Vicar and interpreter of the Divine law, by an insistent use of the copula which links it with the Natural. If, then, Divine *and* Natural law are one, we should surely resign all blasphemous hope of making any discoveries by our studies, but collecting our microscopes and telescopes, calipers and note-books, burn them as we wait for enlightenment inspired by the sole source of all wisdom, as set down once for all time by peasant scribes two thousand years ago.

Yet we get something very like an admission of failure, in spite of an uninterrupted Christian tradition, in His Holiness's reference to the "Catholic Church, to which God has entrusted the integrity and purity of morals, standing erect in the midst of the moral ruins which surround her."

The use of sterilization in controlling the fertility of mental deficient is condemned, not for any reason which might cast doubt on its value to the community or the State, but by an assertion that the interests of the State are of no

account beside the needs of Heaven. Those who make these proposals, the Pope declares, "are at fault in losing sight of the fact that the family is more sacred than the State and that men are begotten not for the earth and time, but for heaven and eternity." As for stopping a pregnancy "which it was sought to justify on various grounds, nothing, not even the mother's death, could justify the direct murder of the innocent."

The Catholic attitude, with which we have long been familiar, towards any use of contraceptives is similar to the Pope's condemnation of sterilization: "Any use whatsoever of matrimony exercised in such a way that the Act is deliberately frustrated in its natural power to generate life, is an offence against the law of God and nature, and those who indulge in such are branded with the guilt of a grave sin."

What is most apparent in these edicts is their complete lack of relevance to anything that either humanitarian or scientist could have to say about them. The use of surgical sterilization or of contraceptives is commended *or* condemned by Eugenists according to the use made of them, by their efficacy and the nature of their effects on the individual or the race. To the Catholic the results are of no consequence; they are condemned for a supposed discrepancy with some Divine prejudice against the methods used—a prejudice all the more remarkable since it does not appear to have operated to prevent

practices in the Roman Church itself, which in effect are, and have been, nothing less than contraception and sterilization, but by methods and with results, that Eugenists would be bound to condemn as both mischievous and barbaric.

Eugenists, to whom the racial end is all important, do not favour any method of limiting or of fostering the increase of any category of the population, apart from the use to which such methods are put or the results they achieve. For the same reason they cannot be said to condemn any method without reference to its results.

Before considering the merits or demerits of contraception and sterilization from the eugenic point of view, let us turn to the practices that the Roman Catholic Church has approved or does approve.

This is a matter of some difficulty, since we find that the Church does approve of many practices which are, in effect, birth control and sterilization, provided that the objects and results attained are entirely different from the eugenic ones of human and racial betterment. At the same time she condemns any regulation or control of physical functions, which she describes as being "contrary to nature," nature in this context being interpreted as a manifestation of God's intentions, which man seeks to frustrate. In short, the principle which emerges is that any human or artificial control of nature is unnatural. In its implications it may be held

to condemn anything that man can do to control himself or his environment; it places in anti-thesis nature and human nature, while at the same time the natural consequences of his control are held to be a challenge to the Divine wisdom, if undertaken for motives of human betterment.

Thus proposals to sterilize aments (mental defectives of all grades) either with or without their consent are unequivocally condemned. The objects for which the operation is performed are said to be of no consequence, and the means themselves are described as in themselves "morally evil." Sterilization being assumed to be the same as castration (which it is not),\* and castration (as in English civil law) being held to constitute maiming, allows the faithful to invoke St. Thomas Aquinas, who laid it down, in his *Summa Theologica* that:—

"Sin consists in departing from what is according to nature, towards that which is contrary to nature. Now according to nature it is appointed by God that a man's body should be entire in its members, and it is contrary to nature that it should be deprived of a member. Therefore it seems that it is always a sin to maim a person. . . . The welfare of the soul is to be preferred to the welfare of the body.

\* Sterilization in the male consists now only of the very slight operation of simple ligature and suture of the tiny seminal ducts by incision through the scrotum.

Now it is not lawful for a man to maim himself for the sake of the soul's welfare; since the Council of Nicea (p. 1, sect. 4, can. i.) punished those who castrated themselves that they might preserve chastity. Therefore it is not lawful for any other reason to maim a person;" Lest this should be thought contrary to that direct exhortation to self-emasculatation in the New Testament, Matthew xix. 12: "There be eunuchs, which have made themselves eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heaven's sake:" Aquinas refers to Chrysostom, who explains, ". . . not by maiming themselves, but by destroying evil thoughts, for a man is accursed who maims himself, since they are murderers who do such things . . . and temptation is avoided not so much by cutting off a member as by curbing one's thoughts."

We have no means of knowing how satisfactory an interpretation of the Holy Text this passage may be for the faithful. The complications are many, for we must infer that it is unnatural to interpret the words "made themselves eunuchs" in a natural or physical sense, but at the same time natural to take any other steps to extirpate the natural consequences of nature's most natural promptings. The use of the words "nature" and "unnatural" by theologians is bewildering or completely meaningless to a naturalist or a biologist, who can only ask the theologian why it is "natural" to dedicate large bodies of men and women to perpetual celibacy,

and at the same time to take all possible means to subdue the "promptings of nature" whereby such means then cease to be unnatural? Though, to be sure, for the majority of the members of celibate orders lifelong continence must be a lesser violation of natural promptings than it would be to those outside, for the sexually atonic would chiefly be attracted by such a life.

Yet in the history of the early Church, at the close of the ninth century, one of the approved and therefore presumably "natural" devices adopted in monasteries to "subjugate nature" was to let blood at stated intervals, in the hope of reducing the system and mitigating in this way the natural effects of prolonged continence; a practice long admitted as part of the monastic discipline.<sup>7</sup>

And why, we must ask, is it "natural" to subjugate nature, when the motive for so doing is supernatural, and "unnatural" and immoral to do so when the motive is the good of the community? And how, for instance, can we explain the "naturalism" of the practice which, until comparatively recent times, led to the castration by the Church of two thousand boys annually in the Papal States to secure a supply of recruits for the choir of the Church of St. Peter? Because emasculation inhibits the full development of the voice, parents were encouraged to submit their sons to the operation of castration so that they "might sing to the greater glory of God" and (?) nature. Until recently



some of the singers of the famous Sistine Chapel choir still survived in Rome; Professor Alessandro Morechi being one of the most noted of the singers who were castrated in youth.

In view of the present agitations for and against proposals to clear up the legal ambiguities surrounding the surgical operation of sterilization (vasectomy in men and salpingectomy in women), it may be well to state that a number of highly competent surgeons have been quietly performing this operation in their private practices for a long time past. The operation in its present form being new, the law of England has never taken any cognizance of vasectomy or salpingectomy. But the law against castration, which has been said to cover these operations, is legally regarded as "maiming," and some believe that even voluntary sterilization would lay a surgeon open to this charge, now punishable under the Offences against the Person Act of 1861.

Incidentally the offence of "maiming" or "mayhem" first appears in Statute in "The Coventry Act" passed by the Parliament of 1667 to register their resentment at the treatment of their member for Weymouth, Sir John Coventry, who was pulled out of bed at night and had his nose slit to the bone by young noblemen, as a mark of their displeasure at some slighting remarks the former uttered against King Charles II. during a Parliamentary debate. By this Act "Maiming" was made a capital crime.

## § 5

*Birth Control and the Abortion Rate*

How is it possible that at the present day a considerable proportion of the population should profess to be shocked in the name of morality at the taking of measures to prevent the irresponsible and thoughtless procreation of aments (mental defectives), and at the same time should see nothing shocking in the organized submission to sterilization of large bodies of healthy men and women in the celibate orders of the Roman Church and the compulsory sterilization through the increasingly intolerable pressure of taxation of the self-supporting and the more efficient? No doubt this indifference is only rendered possible because the official representatives of one class impose the taxes while a smaller, dwindling class pays them.

Or is it merely because large sections of the population have no knowledge of what a human body without a human brain is like? Are they too noble and tender-hearted to be capable of horror or repulsion at the sight of the poor gibbering beings, misshapen, hideous and stunted specimens of speechless and helpless humanity, and the under-developed creatures who, without constant care, supervision and control, replenish the ranks of anti-social criminals?

Or is it that they still cling, against all

evidence, to the childish superstition that while bodily characteristics can be inherited, mental ones cannot be? If this superstition has something to do with it, it would be interesting to discover what such people suppose the mind to be, whether they suspect it can have something to do with its vehicle the brain, which consists of a large number of cortical cells and a complex system of associated neurones, nerve centres and nerve paths. While we may know no more about the fundamental origin or nature of nerve energy than we do about the nature of physical energy, we do know that capacity to think is related to or dependent on neuronic structure, which is as much a part of the body and therefore as inheritable as the characteristics of the rest of the body-cells. For we know that abnormal or subnormal mental development is linked with defective numbers of cells and conditions in the neuronic structure of the brain, and with an arrest in the development of the nerve cells. This arrest in development inexorably limits the capacity of the mind to profit by experience or to be taught, and particularly with that capacity to deal with new situations—the essence of what thinking involves—which we call intelligence. Ignoring this elementary fact, the whole of our educational system appears to be based on the fallacy that people can be made more intelligent by education, whereas education at its best can only enable the mind to profit by experience and

to develop to the extent of the inborn neuronc structure of the brain. Millions are spent and wasted annually in the vain attempt to "educate" a large proportion of the population, who cannot possibly profit by it. At the same time the mechanical assimilation of a little book learning takes the place of encouraging the young to do their own thinking. The absorption of learning is placed before the use made of learning; and the training of the hand and eye, the basis of all craftsmanship, is neglected. In consequence, a vast number grow up with an ill-assorted smattering of small knowledge and smug prejudices, and in place of the ability to think or even to use their hands and eyes, they acquire a complacent conviction that they have been born to inherit a Divine or Democratic right to their own worthless opinions.

Eugenics is, above all, an attitude of mind, a readiness to face the realities of life, to study what is happening, so that individually and collectively we may foster all that is healthy and beautiful and sound, and avoid encouraging all that is diseased and ugly and decayed to multiply. It can hardly be profitable, therefore, to argue with opponents who declare war against such an attitude from the start. Regretfully we must admit that the Roman Catholic Church declared war on us before it even discovered whom we were. This prejudice Dr. Inge, Dean

of St. Paul's, writing in the *Eugenics Review* ten years ago (January, 1921), "feared we must accept as a permanent fact."

But other religious opinion is apt to be suspicious, and the advocacy by many, though not necessarily by all, eugenists of conception control may account for some of the hostility. There is not the slightest doubt that birth control is at the present time practised by a large and ever-growing proportion of the population. There is equally little doubt that neither Catholics nor any other organised body of people can stop this response to the influence of economic pressure and the pressure of population. The most they can do is to retard its spread, or rather the spread of the most efficient or least harmful methods among the less educated people who need the knowledge most. In other words, it can only succeed among the ignorant. In so far as they are successful in limiting this check (birth control) to over-population they must indirectly encourage the checks that remain—a high death rate by disease or by war and famine.

Two specifically eugenic reasons may exist for promoting the extension of an efficient and harmless contraceptive technique to those who most desire or need it. The first is dependent on the wider distribution by these means throughout the population of the practice of family limitation, in order to equalize the differential birth and survival rates. In England

density has now reached saturation point in a population which shows all the symptoms of over-population (the rising tide of unemployment, of pauperism, national economic impoverishment rendered more vicious by increasing taxation, and the rise in certain categories of morbidity, are the chief). Under these conditions, the adjustment of population to the limiting factors of elimination is bringing about a progressive change in the quality of our stock through differential birth and survival rates. Unless those categories of the population which now have the largest families and demonstrably include those of the poorest quality, mentally and physically, avail themselves of the newer contraconceptive techniques they can have no eugenic effect. Therefore, if birth control and family limitation now operate dysgenically, the extension of these means should have the opposite tendency.

The second defence of contraception, of rather less eugenic, but of greater humanitarian, value, would be its lowering of the high but increasing abortion rate. It is difficult in most European countries to get statistics, or even satisfactory estimates, of the abortion rate. In Germany, for instance, competent authorities have estimated the rise from 250,000 annually before the War to between 600,000 and 800,000 to-day; and there is little doubt, in the absence of any reliable figures, that the rate in England is also enormous. The Committee on Maternal

Mortality (1930) quotes Beckwith Whitehouse, who found in his private practice and at the Birmingham General Hospital that before the Great War 1 in 5 of all the pregnancies of women attending ended in abortion, and during the period immediately following 1 in 5.9. These figures relate chiefly to married women. In New South Wales (1927), 13 per cent. of maternal deaths are due to illegal operations, necessarily a small proportion of the successful or non-fatal abortions.

It is nothing short of monstrous hypocrisy that official, religious or medical obstruction should stand in the way of women obtaining access to non-injurious means of *avoiding* pregnancies, while at the same time the law punishes a woman or the incompetent help she alone has access to, if she seeks to stop a pregnancy, with the utmost severity. As long as these conditions are tolerated the law of the land must be held directly responsible for the death or life-long sickness of thousands of women every year, and the moral and mental distress of an even greater number.

Until 1931 it was practically impossible for women, married or unmarried, to obtain any, let alone competent, contraceptive advice at any State-aided maternity centre or hospital in England, for the simple reason that these refused to give it. They had access only to the inefficient, expensive, and often harmful appliances or germicides sold by the chemists.

Since July, 1930, the position is modified in England by a Ministry of Health's instructional circular, giving permission to State-aided maternal welfare clinics to give contraceptive advice for *gynæcological reasons*, the formula used being "to . . . cases where further pregnancy would be detrimental to health, and should be given at a separate session. . . ."—a measure of very restricted reform, which, though wholly inadequate, so far as any effect it is likely to have on the abortion rate, must, perhaps, be accepted as earnest of a dawning intelligence. What still remains is the active obstruction and arbitrary interference which stands between women having free access to the proceeds of scientific and medical discoveries to aid them in the control of the functions of their own bodies.

In defence of this attitude the word morality is dragged in. If all women, it is argued, can with equal facility obtain knowledge of birth control, it will enable sexual intimacies to be entered upon without the complications and fears of unwanted children, within or without marriage. These fears, and the consequences of trying to meet them by dangerous abortions, will act preventatively and punitively. With the misanthropic vindictiveness shown only by puritans and so many of those who call themselves Christians they relish the more dreadful consequences as the better punishment. The same psychological attitude should logically



lead to the reintroduction of the steel and padlocked "chastity belts" by jealous male defenders of female virtue.

To these it will be useless to rejoin that people are moral by how they live, they cannot be made so by legislation; that whatever the code of morality, the moral man is one who regulates his life responsibly by the code he respects, not by devising penalties for those who have a different one; and that a social morality to which duty pledges us all considers as our concern only the consequences to *society* of other men's conduct.

This wanton interference with the most intimate of personal liberties is organized and encouraged by the very people who accuse eugenists of wishing to set up a bureaucratic tyranny! For instance, we read, in December, 1930, that copies of Michael Fielding's book *Parenthood* were seized by the Chichester police with a view to prosecuting the author and publisher for indecency. The author, who adopts a pseudonym, is a qualified London physician, and his book an able and technically unobjectionable exposition of the medically best approved methods of birth control. It is written in very simple language and published at a very low cost, with the special purpose of being within reach of the small means of the wider public which needs it. Comment is superfluous, and we must refer to an authority on the determination of indecency and obscenity such as

the late Home Secretary, Lord Brentford (Sir William Joynson-Hicks), under whose administration a work was apparently deemed indecent and liable to confiscation if it referred to sex in any terms sufficiently simple and intelligible to be understood by our censors.

In many States of the U.S.A., more drastic, but apparently less effective laws exist, making it a felony, as in California (although sterilization is legal there), "wilfully to write or publish any notice or advertisement of medicine, or means for producing or facilitating a miscarriage or abortion, or *for the prevention of conception*, or who offers his service by any notice or advertisement to assist in the accomplishment of any such purpose."

When we look for arguments, rather than obstruction, against the dissemination of contraceptive knowledge, although undoubtedly logical objections could sometimes be made, we are apt to find theologico-ethical musings that could have no earthly meaning for any naturalist. The following, for instance, came from the pen of the Revd. Sir James Marchant, one time secretary of the self-appointed National Birth Rate Commission, and author of a book, *Birth Rate and Empire*:—

"What right, indeed, have we to prevent the birth of lives . . . if there are countless hosts of souls waiting to be born, and their chance of life depends upon our living to reproductive age and giving them birth?"

In a similar strain the Bishop of Exeter, Lord William Cecil, ten years later issued an appeal to his brother bishops about to meet at the Lambeth Conference of 1930, urging them to condemn birth control: "If the Lambeth Conference should approve of birth control, which is condemned by the Roman Catholic Church, then there will be a new breach in the growing unity of Christendom." The subsequent qualified approval of birth control by the assembled bishops (who had condemned it ten years before) confirmed his forebodings. And he continued: "If life has been sweet to us why should we deprive others of the privilege we value and enjoy? Every child deprived of the privilege of life is treated cruelly and unjustly." From which utterance those of us with lively imaginations may conjure up the sorrowful sound among the unborn hosts of the indignant protests of countless unborn aments and dements, overwhelmed by the threat that they may never be born to gibber their inarticulate joys and sorrows in this mundane vale of tears.

## § 6

*Why the Jewish Question is Dragged in.  
Professor Lowie and American Eugenists*

Sometimes we meet with professed opposition to eugenic ideals from authors who write as

men of science, even in the ranks of anthropologists and biologists.

An examination of this type of criticism too often reveals a hostility to rivals behind a professedly impartial scientific attitude. To one of my respected friends, who happens to be an anthropologist of distinction, Eugenics stands for all the nonsense and scientific superstition that he personally finds most intolerable in the United States. Professor R. H. Lowie, of the University of California, has our sympathy when he says in a popular book, *Are We Civilized?*<sup>8</sup>: "Scientists need not be afraid of the Church half so much as of their own sectarianism." But he proceeds to enter with zest and a fine ironic denunciation into some of the worst extravagancies of the sectarian game himself. "In the United States at least, Eugenics is a cloak for Know-Nothingism." And immediately Eugenics becomes a thing of straw, parading as an effigy of that ignorant, interfering group that causes him so much annoyance in the United States. Gradually we discover from their sins who these ignorant, loud-shouting pseudo-scientists are, although very few names are mentioned: Mr. Madison Grant's is mentioned only once parenthetically. It is alleged of them that they "lie about heredity on behalf of restricted immigration," they "caterwaul about the 'low' racial strains of our immigrants," they shout from the housetops that "race mixture is a thing of evil," they "are content with

the estimable common-place old New England families," they believe in a superior race type they call the Nordics, they "talk twaddle about the children of mixed marriages between Europeans and Jews belonging to the lower type—the Jews," they "prove to their own satisfaction that the needy are born inferior . . . hence God cannot love them,"—and they call themselves "eugenists," or at any rate Professor Lowie does.

When Lowie wishes to apostrophize the absurdity of a particularly fatuous contention he comments ironically "the argument recalls modern eugenists." He argues, in effect, that all eugenists are ignorant fools; a man who is ignorantly foolish is probably a eugenist or at any rate like a eugenist; therefore Eugenics is ignorant folly, which is a very bad syllogism—but the argument recalls Professor Lowie. The sheer twaddle attributed to them by opponents is not what scientific eugenists say. Unfortunately Dr. Lowie does not appear to have discovered whom these are. He refers, for instance, several times in the course of his book with great respect to the authority of Professor Eugen Fischer, of Berlin, whom he describes as "one of the foremost of physical anthropologists in Germany," but he neglects to mention that Professor Fischer is also recognized as one of the foremost eugenists of Germany, who has represented that country at international eugenic congresses.

Clearly one can infer from Dr. Lowie that in the United States of America there are a group of people who talk about race and heredity and Eugenics, whose propaganda is in favour of restricting the quota of immigrants, particularly from non-European countries, and who have become alarmed at the growth of Jewish immigration from Central and Eastern Europe (which has already succeeded in making New York the largest Jewish city in the world). A great deal of this propaganda, like most in that democratic country, is undoubtedly couched in terms that are often as exaggerated as they are irrational and emotional. Yet it is, psychologically, perfectly understandable; but no less understandable is the irritation it causes to those who happen to be immigrants of Jewish extraction from Central Europe (as are the larger proportion of American anthropologists) and who feel themselves the objects of invidious attention.

All this is strictly quite irrelevant to the question of Eugenics, but then most of the opposition to Eugenics is clouded with irrelevancies; and one of the most formidable irrelevancies that is openly and surreptitiously dragged in to obscure the eugenic question is the Jewish question. By this I am not for a moment suggesting that the Jewish question is not one of the most significant problems affecting the cultural history of Europe, but it is also, of all the culture problems of Europe, the one that has been most obscured and least

scientifically faced, both by Jewish and non-Jewish propagandists, and also the most dishonestly ignored by both sides. The true anthropological point of view is neither "Semitic" nor "anti-Semitic," but must take cognizance of the phenomenon of "anti-Semitism," as it must of the equally patent fact that the history of Christendom is the history of the Judaizing of European culture. Now a great portion of Dr. Lowie's book is devoted to the culture and the culture-history of Europe, and almost every line shows evidence of his personal sensitiveness to the problem he never once specifically mentions, although Judaism is the history of the clash of culture in Europe. The Jewish question is not only a problem of culture, it is also a racial problem even more obscured than the culture problem, which is at least one reason why racial problems are habitually so perversely ignored or confused even by anthropologists.

For over two thousand years the Jews have been a people living in more or less isolated and widely scattered groups in the midst of diverse alien populations. Thanks to a rigid code of exclusive intermarriage amongst themselves, as much as to the prejudice of their neighbours, they have lost from time to time only a small portion of their blood by marriage with non-Jews (by external dilution) and have themselves been modified still less by bringing non-Jewish blood into their groups (by internal dilution).

In recent years, however, particularly in America, this dilution has considerably accelerated. The consequence has been that although there is no evidence that at the beginning of our era the Jewish peoples, in spite of an endemic cultural tradition of considerable antiquity, were anything like a pure stock, yet they have bred in comparative isolation for at least some seventy generations—a circumstance which is in essence the mechanism of race formation. A "race" arises through continuous segregation and inbreeding within a group, it is identified in terms of measurable distinction and a constant degree of relative homogeneity, and it can be said to survive only in so far as it remains ethnically isolated, that is to say, preserved from internal dilution.

A race, then, is a biological group possessing in common an indefinite number of associated characteristics, by which it can be distinguished from other groups. In spite of continual resorting and remixing and of selection and elimination of inherited characters in response to changes in environment, race types can be observed either to reappear and persist in a population or to die out and be replaced by other types.

In accordance with this definition of race, I have no hesitation in calling the Jews, in the full significance of the term, a "race" or group of related races. A curious tradition has grown up amongst many anthropologists and ethnologists,



almost amounting to a taboo, that race must not be defined in terms that have any practical value. Instead, their definitions frequently implicate precarious and speculative questions of origin depending on factors that cannot possibly be determined with certainty. They postulate an arbitrary number of "primary" races from which existing race types are said to have evolved. These and similar definitions, if accepted, make it doubtful whether any existing people could strictly be designated a race.

Relying implicitly, if not explicitly, on this background of polygenetic superstition, we are sometimes asked ironically if we suppose that the name, or the cultural tradition or the habit of eating unleavened bread, make the Jews a race. No, of course not, yet more than one Jewish race-type exists so demonstrably that they can be instantly identified without the aid of head calipers and the paraphernalia of the "primary type school" by anyone who takes a walk down Broadway in New York any day in the week. The same sort of evidence is available in determining the existence of Nordic race types; questions of origin have nothing to do with it. In either case this evidence constitutes no excuse for confusing cultural questions with racial questions, or for confusing questions of environment with questions of heredity, which is less the besetting sin of "Heredity-mongers" than of "Environment-mongers."

For more than two thousand years the Jews

suffered and were persecuted because of their identity, and because of their distinctiveness from the people amongst whom they have lived. In spite of this fact, they have influenced the culture and originated the religion of the non-Jews immeasurably more than the latter have influenced their culture. While their survival and their fight against absorption by dilution has been a measure of their ethnic and their cultural identity, they have sought to mitigate the more onerous consequences of that identity being recognized by trying to persuade the world of their non-existence as a race. This can almost be recognized as a "racial trait"! Hence the adoption by the natives of Europe of a religion from a Jewish source has produced the living paradox of a people of no race, without a nation, having a national and racial religion, while the religion of the nations amongst whom they live is neither national nor racial!

Failing to persuade the rest of the world to accord to them openly the privileges due to a "Chosen Race," they have at least succeeded in dissuading most of the world from thinking that any other race could be superior, if indeed any other "race" could exist at all. Failing superiority they have fought for toleration on the grounds of sameness and equality. Instigating and encouraging the confusion that exists between culture and race, and between race and nationality, they have accepted the formula that describes a Jew as an "English or

German or Russian gentleman of the Jewish persuasion." In some measure this may account for so many Jewish sociologists propagating egalitarian principles.

Themselves the most race-conscious people in the world, with a religion and a cultural tradition steeped in racial ethics, Jewish anthropologists have been peculiarly apt to advertise their origin in their writings by waging an irascible war against all signs of race consciousness and racial ethics in the rest of the world. At the same time the advertisement seldom takes the form of the explicit mention. As everybody knows, the Jews, who have originated most of the taboos which the Gentile world is most in awe of violating, from taking the name of Jehovah in vain, to omitting to use a euphemism in referring to the genitals, have also taught the Gentiles to place a taboo, the violation of which involves the severe penalty of conviction of a social solecism, upon referring to his race in front of a Jew. Unlike a man of Scotch or Northumbrian descent who is apt aggressively to repudiate kinship with the country of his adoption, where a Jew is concerned tacit deference is supposed to be paid to the fiction that country of adoption and race are one, and the word Jew is avoided as scrupulously as the female for dog at a dames' tea-party. By an extension of the taboo, the word "race" itself is frowned upon, and the idea that any race type should have survived *pithec-*

WEEDS IN THE GARDEN OF MARRIAGE  
*anthropus* derided. Political champions of the American War of Independence or of the French Revolution do not hesitate to use words that biologists treat with great care, to buttress their meaningless slogans, and state sententiously, "I do not believe in heredity." Mr. Lloyd George once made this remark in a political speech and illustrated it by observing that Herbert, the late Lord Gladstone, was a much stupider man than his father.

§ 7

*On Culture, Race and the Inheritance of  
Mental Traits*

In more serious (and scientific) circles we have to face the attempt to exorcize the words race, heredity, and racial inheritance, or, at any rate, so to confuse and confound them with the words culture, civilization, social tradition, social inheritance, as to deprive them of all meaning.

Now, Professor Lowie and the few other trained anthropologists who know perfectly well what biology means, but who, for various reasons, wish to deride certain other people who call themselves eugenists, are much less cautious in attributing nonsense to their opponents, or more careful in selecting *only* the nonsense, than they are to committing egregious blunders in their own statements. They are

also careful to avoid the relevant issues and to mis-state the terms of the problem. In this polemical task the ambiguities of terms that have been incorporated into the terminology of science come to their aid. So Lowie states: "If mental traits belong by heredity to racial strains, the laws of heredity ought to hold for them in much the same way as for physical traits. What, then, are these laws in the case of a mixed population? . . . If the Nordics of six or eight thousand years ago had peculiar mental traits, the time for determining them by mental tests or otherwise is past. Their psychology is unknowable." That can, of course, perfectly well be admitted. A mixed population is by definition a population of mixed or divergent racial types, and their group physical or mental measurements are not racial standardizations. What is called the Nordic racial type is a convenient standardization of existing physical traits to which any selected corresponding set of measurable mental traits may be, but not necessarily are, linked. We are no more able to measure the Nordics of eight thousand years ago physically than we are mentally. Race types in any case can only remain stable so long as their segregation is secured and the controlling factors of selection remain constant.

But at the same time we cannot avoid the conclusion that a sufficiently homogeneous, or physically pure, stock is bound to have *some* correlated set of mental traits, just because the

laws of heredity determine alike the skeletal, endocrinic and neuronc cells which determine the functions of both body and mind. The *discovery* of the correlated mental traits is quite a different problem. A considerable amount of research on endocrinic variation and on the hormones has already shown that racial differences are not unconnected with inherited differences in the activities of various ductless glands. Not only racial differences in hair, skin pigment, stature, growth and physiognomy, but temperamental differences, also, have been shown to be connected with the adrenal, thyroid (lack of which causes cretinism), pituitary and other glands.

When Lowie goes on to say: "There may indeed be *group* differences, but the groups that differ are not *races*," he begs the question, or states the obvious, since a race is either a relatively homogeneous and ethnically distinct group, or an ethnically mixed group and therefore not a race. No responsible eugenicist can have stated that the populations of Sweden, England, France or Italy represent distinct racial types, though they may differ in their racial composition.

Again the statement "race cannot explain culture," both begs the meanings of the terms, and the meaning implied in the statement. If, however, it means "race cannot modify culture," which is much more definite, it is most certainly challengeable.

By culture we mean the way in which Man

in his group or social life adapts himself to his environment. We refer to the traditional ways in which he learns to collect, cultivate and prepare his food; the ways in which he has learned to defend himself from his enemies, to fashion into weapons the minerals of the soil, or to comfort himself for his helplessness against those seen or unseen forces he cannot control, by representing them as symbolic puppets, which by appeal, placatory offerings, or magical rites, he strives to sway—this we call his religion. We mean the ways in which, generation after generation, he forges the links of the chains which bind him to his corporate group and control his behaviour in all life's activities, when he mates and rears children, when he buries and mourns his dead.

Culture, therefore, is the sum total of man's group adaptation to his environment. In so far as groups of men capable of being distinguished by race show distinguishable variations in their adaptation to their environment, we refer to the culture of that race. But the culture may change, as through a change in the environment, or the race may change, as through the infusion of immigrant stock. In short we define "race" as a group recognized by inheritable and measurable traits distinguishing it from other groups, and by a constant degree of relative homogeneity.

Just as racial types continually tend to become blurred in the process of mixing and re-sorting, some types surviving while others become

eliminated, so also are culture-types subject to the laws of change, to the processes of mixing, blending, survival and elimination. Are we going to suppose that the evolution of race determines in no degree nor modifies the evolution of culture? Is there no evidence that ethnically and constitutionally distinct people behave differently in the same social environment, even though the behaviour of people of similar racial endowment is inevitably modified by different social organizations and traditions? Such evidence abounds.<sup>9</sup>

The republic of Liberia was established on the West Coast of Africa; her citizens, the freed negroes from North America, were nurtured for a century in the culture of European Christendom. Like the negro republics of Haiti and San Domingo, they were equipped with all the culture-forms and culture-accessories of their white foster parents. The civilizations these negro republics have produced have been conspicuously distinct and bear the stamp of their culture-*potential* (inalienable from germ-plasm).

The history of populations, or regional groups, the history of races, or the mixings and migrations of stocks, and the history of the evolution of culture types, are actually quite distinct; one of these may remain relatively constant whilst one of the others may change. Culture is the fruit and expression of man's mental activity, accumulated and transmitted through the generations. In its origin it is



determined, and in its evolution both limited and modified, by man's capacity. It is variable as that capacity is variable.

The confusions which commonly persist in failing to distinguish these three factors in human history have tended to confuse also the three interdependent factors which together make up the complex heritage that is culture. In the spread and diffusion of cultural elements throughout the world one factor may limit the other, the factor of selection or rejection. The terminology which, for convenience, I have adopted, distinguishes them as *culture-forms*, comprising traditions, art-forms, beliefs, customs, and social organization: *culture-accessories*, which comprise the material culture, including implements, weapons, the products of art (not the technique) and mechanical and scientific discoveries: and conditioning the use of the two former is the *culture-potential* inherent in each individual member of a social group. The term is applied to innate constructive ability; the capacity to develop, under suitable conditions, artistic, scientific, or technical skill, which is conditioned also by innate variation in temperamental dispositions. Culture-forms are not simply bequeathed to a people and in turn handed on by them intact, but are evolved and modified by successive generations, while at every stage culture is conditioned by the capacity of people to give expression to it.

Culture, we see, represents the means

whereby man in his collective groups adapts himself to his social and physical environment. Under the same or similar cultural and environmental conditions, groups ethnically distinguishable show a differential capacity to survive: they are not equally adaptable. This can be illustrated in any mixed population (the populations of all European nations are very much mixed) by tracing the rate of survival or elimination of the different recognizable ethnic types.

Although we talk of the culture or the civilization (in an anthropological sense the terms are synonymous) of the people of a European nation as being a fixed social inheritance identical for the whole nation, this is only relatively so for the material objects and the body of accumulated learning and beliefs which are bequeathed from various origins by one generation to the next, the *culture-accessories* and the *culture-forms*; the use made of these two and the capacity to use them demonstrably vary enormously in the same population; that is, the *culture-potential* is enormously variable, infinitely more variable than in some inbred and segregated tribe adapted by natural selection to the controlling factors of some inland Papuan environment. Environment is certainly related to culture and to *culture-potential*, but by being amongst the factors of selection and elimination it conditions heredity and *culture-potential* as well.

What we like to call—with complacent

superiority—civilization throws up every grade of capacity from the most primitive savagery to the high peaks of intellectual eminence; but the high peaks represent a very small quota in the whole population. Our highly complex civilizations of Europe and America provide the milieu for the most mixed and diverse populations. The principle is simply: the more mixed and outbred, the more variable, mentally no less than physically, are the different strains that respond in variable ways to the same cultural setting. And we have been very late in recognizing the fact that adaptation is not a process that can be explained exclusively in physical terms.<sup>9</sup> This is one of the chief lessons of eugenic science.

Occasionally, though rarely, opponents of Eugenics have been able to find someone out of the ranks of eminent geneticists whose writings they can quote in support of their prejudices. An example is Dr. Raymond Pearl, who has sometimes paused in his studies of the genetics of poultry and of the fruit fly, *Drosophila*, to refer impatiently to his colleagues within the ranks of what he calls "orthodox eugenists." He has written:<sup>10</sup> "In preaching that superior people will have superior children, and inferior people inferior children, they [the eugenists] are going contrary to the best established facts of genetical science and are in the long run doing their cause harm. For modern genetics gives no support to the view that the somatic characteristics of the offspring

can be predicted from a knowledge of the somatic characters of the parents." On the face of it, that is to say in its implications, the argument is no more sound, because no more relevant to heredity, than the quoted allusion of Mr. Lloyd George, who cannot be suspected of any knowledge of genetics, to Lord Gladstone being the stupid son of a gifted father. Dr. Pearl, of course, knows better than most people that if the genetic characteristics of a father are mated to similar or opposed characteristics in the mother, the chance of the same characteristics appearing in the offspring, and in what proportion of the offspring, may often be calculated with mathematical certainty, provided they are characters that can be isolated. But since each parent inherits his or her genetic equipment through two parents, in his or her turn transmitting half of every pair of genes to the offspring, each generation back has contributed its quota to the possible combination and recombination of characters, some shown and some carried, some dominant and some recessive, in each descendant. The mechanism accounts for a man often resembling one of his grandparents much more closely than he does his own father or mother. What is so far known about heredity indicates the probability, if not the certainty, that great talent and ability are due to the concatenation of a great number of favourable elements independently inherited. Except under conditions of close inbreeding,

nearly the same combination of qualities shown by one parent is not likely to appear in the offspring, although the prepotency often causes a combination of characters to be transmitted much more closely in one line of descent than another. The offspring of Brigham Young, the Mormon, has been instanced to illustrate this. Eleven of his daughters by eight different wives were all said to resemble their father much more strikingly than their respective mothers. The same striking likeness was reported in his granddaughters. Inbreeding probably favours prepotency. It is a matter of calculation, which would be rendered much more simple if men could be self-fertilized in the way sweet peas are self-fertilized.

In any case to refute fallacious Eugenics is no more an argument against Eugenics than to refute fallacious mathematics is an argument against that unequivocal science, and it is probably as little justifiable to call a fallacy orthodox in one as in the other.

### § 8

*Why Politicians should Consider the Problems of Eugenics. Racial Ideas that Influenced Ancient Sparta and Modern Polynesians.*

It is evident that the problems of Eugenics bear in innumerable ways upon the problems that are habitually looked upon as political. They

bear upon the fields of economics and taxation, public health and housing, crime and the penal code, alcoholism, marriage laws, rural and urban migration, poor laws, immigration and emigration, the Established Church, education, agriculture, industry, employment, labour, colonial administration, the constitution and the social system. Each of these departments of public activity contributes its quota of influence in impairing, preserving, or fostering the quality of the population. In any civilization or organized society they stand between man and those forces called Natural Selection.

Eugenic proposals aim at restricting definitely defective stock and encouraging the reproduction of desirable stock. Already laws and the influence of taxation place restrictions upon marriage and affect fertility, but these restrictions have no improvement of the human stock in view. Eugenic proposals aim at extending the existing principles of control to do good rather than harm. They do not aim at producing uniformity. There is *no* serious disagreement about which qualities are definitely harmful, and which definitely valuable. Neither is it seriously challengeable that at present in England the definitely defective contribute a larger proportion of offspring to the next generation than the healthy.

There is plenty of evidence that desirable qualities are *not* especially associated with defectiveness; all the evidence is the other way. There is, therefore, no danger that in limiting

the reproduction of mental defectives, exceptional ability or genius would be eliminated at the same time. Genius is not associated with insanity nor mental ability with physical disability. The genetic characters of good and bad *may* be found together, but such association is accidental, not correlated. Actually such extremes as genius and amentia *could* not be found together in any one individual.

Variation is a law of organic life, so is the inexorable process of selection operating within all species, including man, and leading to the extinction of certain types and to the survival of others. In the heterogeneous populations of civilized countries differential birth and survival rates of groups result actually, though gradually, in the extinction of certain types and the survival of others. Incidentally, in England the survival rate diminishes up the social scale, and infertility and gradual extinction is the reward for climbing the social ladder; while the birth rate in the London slum districts is over two and a half times that of the best residential districts.

The attempts of politicians and philanthropists to ameliorate conditions of poverty and distress are constantly aggravating the causes of the symptoms they seek to cure. Sometimes the symptoms are noticed, but the cause seldom understood. To study the causes is held to be "unpractical" (which is no doubt true when the training and equipment to do so is lacking), and

all that is vital to the welfare, and in the long run even to the survival, of society becomes "not practical politics." So we must conclude by the lack of interest shown by a Chancellor of the Exchequer, a Home Secretary, or a Minister for Health or Education or Agriculture in the fundamental problems of population. Since "babies have no votes" it is impractical to think further ahead than the next election, still more so to think in terms of generations. Myopia has become a political virtue. Yet everything that is done or left undone which in any way changes the conditions of life for any section of the population affects the survival rate of that section, and is either eugenic or dysgenic.

If a gardener cultivated his garden by carefully coddling and protecting the weeds, they would soon choke all the flowers and fruit within the garden walls. Our civilization has tended increasingly to shelter the weeds which are characteristic of its growth. It would actually seem as though we were proud of the enormous growth in our weed crop, and in our army of weed gardeners. Gaily we open new hospitals and increase their size; inebriates' homes, reformatory schools and asylums for the insane and the mentally afflicted spring up on every side. With boastful prodigality we bribe recruits to join the ranks of recipients of poor relief and unemployment benefit, as at the same time we mobilize and train new armies of doctors, dentists, nurses and warders, but little



is done to remove the underlying causes of unemployment, of idiocy, of ill-health and morbidity, of pauperism and crime.

The accumulation of all these things is neither universal nor inevitable, they are peculiarities of civilization, of our particular civilization. In more primitive and in older civilizations, wherever healthy vigour has been prized as necessary for the dignity of man, what were in effect eugenic ideals prevailed. Without any scientific knowledge of genetics or of the laws of heredity the old Polynesians, the finest and proudest race in the Pacific, were *practical* eugenists. This only means that they prized an ideal of nobility, health, virility, and intelligence, and that this ideal influenced their choice in marriage. Weaklings, fools, cowards and the deformed were despised. They had a rigid regard for primogeniture, and an *ariki* or eldest son of a chief succeeded to the chieftainship, yet if one fell short of the high standard they expected, another son was chosen in his place. Because they expected, they obtained a higher standard in their chieftainship. This showed itself even in stature and in health. The first missionaries to Tahiti on the ship *Duff*, reported "the men in general are above our common size; but the chiefs a larger race, few of them short of six feet high . . . they carry their age well, and are healthy and vigorous at a very advanced time of life, if not infected with disease (such as Europeans have introduced)

. . . a cripple is hardly ever seen among them in early life. A rickety child is never known."

The hereditary chiefs were picked men, the mightiest warriors, the ablest counsellors, and their men of rank, *tohunga* and *rangatira*, the cleverest magicians and experts. The chiefs and leaders had the pick of the finest women, and since polygyny was their privilege, the finest men left the greatest number of children. The higher ranks tended also to be more closely inbred. The cross cousin system of marriage, such as was practised by the Melanesian Fijians, ensured the higher classes being more closely inbred.<sup>9</sup> All this, besides being practical Eugenics, was practical true *aristocracy*. A far truer and more practical aristocracy than our House of Lords.

Few people seem to realize that our titled nobility fails to function, as a true aristocracy unchallengeably does, because it is maintained or brought into being with very little regard to the hereditary principle. Professed "disbelievers in heredity," like Mr. Lloyd George, have been responsible for no small portion of its creation. Nobody could avoid agreeing that the best government would be by the people who are "best" in the art of governing, not the richest, nor the most tyrannical, neither plutocracy nor oligarchy, but the best, and all that that implies—ablest, wisest, noblest; the truism is comprehensive of the one word "aristocracy," with a

further implication that it should be hereditary. Since ability is hereditary, an understanding of, and a regard for, that principle should bring into being and maintain an aristocracy that could be continuously functional.

The Polynesians, without the use of either word, nor any theorizing, achieved an "aristocracy" and a "eugenic" sentiment, and, consequently, a very fine race of men and women, who did not degenerate until we introduced the "blessings of civilization" in the form of disease, commercial values, blood-mixing and Christianity.

Dr. Schiller has suggested that the House of Lords should be eugenically reformed,<sup>11</sup> which means, of course, turned into an aristocracy. Although he does not recognize that the idea was traditional among the Maori, he wishes to see their rational principles adopted. In the first place the stock, not a person, should be ennobled. The Maori called their noble stock *rangatira*. He advocates outstanding ability and responsible leadership being rewarded by a peerage to the first holder; and suggests that on his death his family, his sons, grandsons, brothers, and nephews should elect his successor or veto in council the succession of an unworthy heir—again on the Maori principle. Persistent failure through several generations to achieve any distinction would lead to disenfranchisement as an elector—*i.e.*, deprivation of status as "noble" stock—or to the extinction

of a peerage. Thus by marrying irresponsibly or incautiously a peer would risk extinguishing his peerage in his descendants. The best type of incentive would thus exist for founding a noble family for the nation's good and the honour that is accorded to high service. Wealth, too, would tend to become functional, since the manner of spending, not success in accumulating, would be highly regarded. In such a community the fatuous and nationally suicidal policy of rewarding people for accumulating wealth irrespective of the means whereby they do it, and of penalizing the successors of wealth, who devote it to wise and productive spending, by death duties which deprive them of function, would no longer be tolerated. Italy, at least, has in this respect shown wisdom by abolishing death duties. The French Government, on the other hand, defunctionalizes Polynesian chiefs in Tahiti by applying the French laws of inheritance to their native subjects and dividing a chief's property at his death among all his children equally. Being divided up and scattered at each succession, the native families are gradually all being bought up by the immigrant Chinese traders, and the head of the family is less and less able to fill the *rôle* of father and protector of his clan.

The most practical and racially the most suicidal Caco-genists are the Bolshevist rulers of Soviet Russia. With a savage intolerance of

any superior ability or initiative, these professedly egalitarian tyrants exterminate any recognizable sign of talent or ability wherever it shows itself. They deny the right of experts to live unharnessed to the slave machinery of the mechanized State. Efficient farmers or peasants—the relatively prosperous *kulaki*—are herded into slave gangs and sent to forced labour, into timber camps or far from home, where they die by the thousand of starvation and ill-treatment. Their experts live in constant dread of summary execution or imprisonment that usually ends in death, for the offence of being suspected of resenting persecution—humorously defined as “economic espionage.” Even the idea that any form of “superiority” should exist so enraged these Caco-genists that when at the end of the Great War they penetrated Eastern Poland, they selected all the finest stallions of one of the most famous studs of pure Arabs in the world and shot them, hanging the prize stallion on a gibbet.

Eugenics differs as an ideal from many ideals—as, for instance, an anchorite’s ideal of contemplation—in being thoroughly practical. It differs also from many practical ideals—such as providing radium for all persons suffering from cancer or hospital beds for all sick persons—in that it works for the eradication of causes rather than the alleviation of symptoms. For this reason the lessons of Eugenics are based on etiology—on the discovery by research of causes.

For this reason it is also interpretative and explanatory.

An instance of the latter may be given. It is as undeniable as it is disquieting that in spite of all effort and the great increase in public health expenditure and in hospitalization, the death rate of mothers in childbirth continues to rise. What has not been generally recognized is that this phenomenon is world-wide and that it is explainable.

The significance of these facts cannot be gauged in isolation from the other vital statistics with which they are correlated. The national inquiry (1930) into the causes of maternal mortality failed to discover the existence of an inverse correlation between the reduction in the infant mortality rate and the rise in the maternal mortality rate. In 1928<sup>12</sup> I called attention to figures which showed that in New York State, in spite of the great extension of public health services and maternity centres, there was no corresponding fall in maternal mortality. In the 1915-1925 period, one in every nine deaths of women between the ages of 15 and 44, irrespective of conjugal state, was due to puerperal causes, and the rate actually increased in the urban districts, where, of course, hospitalization is greatest. Neither ante-natal care, nor obstetrical services succeeded in lowering the rate; yet during the same period the infant death rate fell steadily. In England we have reached the lowest infant death rate (under one

year of age) and the highest maternal mortality rate reached for eighteen years. New Zealand leads the world in the lowest infant and highest maternal mortality rate. Australia follows with the next lower infant and next higher maternal death rate. Chili showed the highest infant and lowest maternal mortality rates recorded among the white races.

On the 1901-10 averages, maternal mortality in New Zealand, United States of America, Scotland, Spain, France, Belgium and Switzerland, averaging between five and six thousand live births, is roughly twice as high as it is in Sweden, Italy, and Norway, where it averages less than three. But the group with the lower maternal mortality has the higher infant death rate. The latest figures from Canada show the same inverse correlation. It is also stated that where the total infant death rate has been most conspicuously reduced, the group of infant deaths from congenital causes and malformations remains unaffected.

The significance is not so much that at any one time and in any one district a low infant and a high maternal mortality are most frequently co-present, but that the rate of maternal mortality tends to increase where the infant mortality decreases, and that the lowered infant mortality only results in a constitutional impoverishment of parturient mothers, reflected in a high or higher maternal mortality rate in the next generation, sixteen to thirty years later.

## WEEDS IN THE GARDEN OF MARRIAGE

The point is that medical services and obstetrical advances cannot and do not help. It is quite unreasonable to hail the reduction in the rate of infant mortality as evidence of a higher standard of national health and fitness, since the reverse is much nearer the truth. But the truth, of course, is likely to be unpopular, especially with medical officers of health, who wish to conceal the fact that their expensive services for alleviating symptoms are actually aggravating the causes.

We have succeeded in lowering the infant mortality rate at the price of a high maternal mortality rate and a constitutional and functional impoverishment of the quality of our breeding mothers. Survival of the strains of pregnancy and parturition depends far more on constitutional fitness and stamina than on medical preparation and obstetrical assistance. The child's chances of survival, however, are increasingly dependent, not upon its constitutional and hereditary robustness, but upon its protection from bacterial attack and the artificial and medical assistance it receives. In short, we save the weak or defective potential mothers at birth and during childhood, who become increasingly unfitted themselves to survive the test of giving birth. The only remedy is the eugenic one of caring for the finer stock rather than subsidizing the diseased and defective.

The problem that Eugenics sets us to solve consists in devising means to counteract the



influences which tend to promote the multiplication of those unfortunate enough to enter the world physically or mentally handicapped—of those who are condemned to lives of suffering and dependence on their fellows.

This problem seems to have been created by civilization for her own undoing, because unenlightened philanthropy has so far interfered with those processes by which the race was continually purified in the past, when disease, famine, war and infanticide operated to eliminate the more sickly. Civilization must substitute other less cruel purifying processes or perish.

We, however, have available in the control of fertility, a less cruel purifying process. But the public conscience has still to be awakened.

An example of enlightened responsibility seldom shown made the Eugenics Society, formed to educate and rouse public opinion, the legatee in 1930 of nearly the whole estate of the late Henry Twitchin. In his will he describes the experience which led to his interest and devotion to the education he believed to be "by far the most urgent and important work possible in human endeavour."<sup>13</sup> Descended from a long line of countrymen, he emigrated to Western Australia where, during forty years of his life, he devoted himself with great success to live-stock breeding. It occurred to him that the principles he applied in improving his farm stock, in breeding from the best animals and not from the worst, applied too to

the improvement of the human family. It was the idea which occurred to Sir Francis Galton, and the idea which in some form or other has occurred to leaders of all the world's finest races. It was the idea behind the marriage laws attributed to Lycurgus, who wished that "such as should become citizens should not be begotten of every man, but of the most honest men only." So Lycurgus thought also "there were many foolish vaine toyes and fansies, in the lawes and orders of other nations, touching marriage: seeing they caused their bitches and mares to be limed and covered with the fayrest dogs and goodliest stallions that might be gotten, yet although they were sickely, feeble-brayned, and extreme olde they kept their wives notwithstanding shut up safe under locke and key. As if it were not first of all and chiefly a discommoditie to the fathers and mothers, and likewise to those that bring them up, to have unperfect and feeble children borne, as it were begotten of drie and withered men: and then to the contrarie, what pleasure and benefit is it to those that have fayer and good children borne, as gotten of like seede and men." <sup>14</sup>

It is not the marriage laws of Sparta that we wish to commend, but the high ideal without which marriage can be desecrated by the cultivation of "sickely, feeble-brayned and unperfect children." Mr. Twitchin, who knew in his own family the distress and unhappiness that diseased constitution and malformation must

bring, showed his high idealism by the sacrifice of abstaining from marriage himself. Thus he wrote: "Although my occupation alone would naturally have led me to this conclusion, it was the fact that I was born of unsound parents and inherited their weaknesses and consequently have suffered thereby, that first forced this question upon me. . . . Believing in practice as well as in principle I never married, although better fitted to do so probably than fully one-half of those who do—and being the last of my family. . . ." Vasectomy would now render the full sacrifice unnecessary, eugenic sterilization would enable a man to marry without the risk of begetting deformed or diseased children.

Never has the ideal that has inspired the noblest ethics of race been said in finer language than in Nietzsche's *Zarathustra*:—

"Thou art young, and desirest child and marriage. But I ask thee: Art thou a man entitled to desire a child?"

"Beyond thyself shalt thou build. But first of all thou must be thyself built sound and wholesome in body and soul.

"Not only onward in time, but upward shouldst thou propagate thyself!

"For that purpose may the garden of marriage help thee."

## A PRACTICAL PROGRAMME

The two means whereby eugenists in all countries hope to promote the welfare, health and happiness of nations and realize an ideal of racial improvement are through (a) Education and (b) Legislation.

Both these means involve reaching and converting public opinion. Much has already been done by the first means, but much more still remains to be done. Francis Galton wrote in 1909: "The power by which Eugenic reform must chiefly be effected is that of popular opinion, which is amply strong enough for that purpose whenever it shall be roused."

### (A) EDUCATION

#### *Eugenical Education in Schools*

1. The inclusion of Eugenics as an integral part of the national education throughout the school system will come so soon as its supreme importance is widely appreciated. It will then be regarded as the most important branch of preventive medicine.

#### *Research and Data*

2. The knowledge on which teaching must be based derives from scientific researches and the collection of statistical data.

## WEEDS IN THE GARDEN OF MARRIAGE

### *A Lead from the Medical Profession*

3. The medical profession must be encouraged to take a lead both in research and teaching, medical men being well placed to aid in these tasks.

### *Popular Education through the Press and Literature*

4. Popular education proceeds furthest when popular interest is aroused. The facts elucidated by biological, genetical and eugenic researches are often dramatic enough to arouse widespread popular interest and sometimes to refute popular fallacies if properly presented in the general Press and by means of lectures, films, exhibits in museums, and by books and pamphlets. For this purpose it is especially desirable to enlist the interest of journalists and politicians. The supreme interests of the race are beyond the sectional interests of party, class or creed.

### *Family Genealogies*

5. Both interest in the facts of heredity and inculcation of the idea of responsibility in marriage can be stimulated by encouraging the keeping of family genealogies in which all possible definite traits of body and mind are recorded. Such genealogies systematically and intelligently kept may also be of great assistance in research.

### *Copyrighting of Surnames*

6. A wide interest in the keeping of genealogies might well lead to a demand for the copyrighting of family surnames, such as exists already in some countries, to prevent persons irresponsibly changing their names or assuming other persons' names. Since the motives for so doing are sometimes fraudulent impersonation or to escape justice, an additional reason exists for such a measure.

# WEEDS IN THE GARDEN OF MARRIAGE

## (B) LEGISLATION

### *Sterilization*

7. In the forefront of what is called negative eugenics to prevent racial deterioration must be placed the eugenical sterilization of those potential parents carrying degenerate hereditary qualities, such as hereditary feeble-mindedness, insanity and epilepsy. For this purpose Government clinics need to be established.

### *Institutional Segregation*

8. In addition to the above measure, increased institutional segregation for the care, treatment and training of defectives is needed.

### *Immigration*

9. Further legislation is advisable for the regulation of immigration with selective provisions for intending immigrants based on knowledge of their heredity.

### *Marriage. Age for Marriage*

10. A revision of laws relating to marriage should deal with the minimum age for marriage, which should in no case be lower than the age of consent for females. The existing law in England would suggest that responsibility for the irrevocable union of marriage can be undertaken at an earlier age than an ephemeral and non-reproductive or casual union.

### *Health Declaration before Marriage*

11. No marriage should be registered or marriage licence issued before both parties have exchanged an adequate certificate of freedom from serious hereditary defects and from infectious venereal diseases. Such certificates should also note ascertainable diseases or tendencies to disease such as alcoholism, tuberculosis, insanity and criminal records. A measure providing for an obligatory health

## WEEDS IN THE GARDEN OF MARRIAGE

declaration before marriage was brought before the Norwegian and Swedish parliaments and passed into their laws in 1918. The Scandinavian legislatures made the contracting parties in marriage responsible for the correctness of their declarations, but a medical examination was not made obligatory. Prenuptial medical certificates have also been legislated for, or bills for the purpose promoted, in other countries.

### *Relations by Marriage*

12. Laws prohibiting marriage between persons related only by marriage should be abolished.

### *Divorce*

13. Grounds for divorce should be widened and should include hereditary or chronic insanity, feeble-mindedness, desertion and sterility. Legally separated spouses should have the right without further grounds of obtaining divorce, by mutual consent, or on the application of either of them.

### *Contraceptive Information*

14. The diffusion of contraceptive information by qualified physicians through public clinics should be authorized, so that the most efficient means of exercising conscious control over reproduction should be available to all women, and not confined, as now, only to women of means.

### *Stopping Pregnancies*

15. It should be legal for qualified practitioners to stop pregnancies in the interests of either the mother or the health and soundness of the child.

### *Taxation*

16. The principles adopted in income-tax levies should regard the number of dependents supported by the income assessed, and the functions performed in the spending of wealth in contributing to the social welfare. Thus married

## WEEDS IN THE GARDEN OF MARRIAGE

women's incomes should be separately assessed and not added to husbands' incomes for the purposes of a higher rate of assessment; and a proportionate deduction made for all children and dependents.

### GENERAL

At a meeting of the International Federation of Eugenic Organizations held in Rome in September, 1929, the following resolution bearing on the relation between research and education was proposed by the present writer and passed by the meeting:—

“While much headway has been made in organizing national Eugenic Societies for the purpose of fostering scientific research in genetics and educational activities designed to arouse a more general interest in the social application of such knowledge, it is felt that these efforts are still a long way from effectively influencing and abating world-wide dysgenic tendencies. Materially to influence social customs, ethical standards of responsibility in reproductive marriage, and national legislatures, whose enactments are constantly directing both economic and biologic factors to produce eugenically undesirable results, a more direct and powerful influence must be brought to bear on public opinion through the Press, through educational institutions, through organized societies concerned in all forms of social amelioration, and on parliamentary bodies, irrespective of party, class or creed.



“It is felt that the time is now ripe for giving a wider scope and effectiveness to our activities in this direction, and for driving home what would be looked upon as the more practical as against the more theoretical of our principles.

“In order to achieve this result active intervention is necessary in many national problems. Associated Eugenic Societies should therefore seek representation on national bodies dealing with such questions as Immigration, Maternal Health, Infant Welfare, Mental Defectives and Insane, Criminals, Paupers and Vital Statistics and Alcoholism.

“In research, stimulus is still needed in dealing with the incidence of morbidity and the diathesis of tuberculosis, cancer, deaf mutism, blindness, puerperal mortality, etc.”

## NOTES AND BIBLIOGRAPHIC REFERENCES

- P. 11. <sup>1</sup> *The Science of Power*, by Benjamin Kidd (1918). Mr. Kidd, believing in the equal value of every human life, denounced Eugenics as a product of German intellectualism. An interesting example of ill-informed and fallacious argument.
- P. 12. <sup>2</sup> *The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism*, by Bernard Shaw (1928). In his Chapter XVI. Mr. Shaw discusses Eugenics, and illustrates wittily his ignorance of its problems.
- P. 15. <sup>3</sup> Pedigrees illustrating the inheritance of mental defectiveness and disease compiled with scientific care have been collected from time to time by Eugenic Research bodies in England and America. See, for instance, pedigrees of defectives in the *Eugenics Review*, April, 1930.
- P. 16. <sup>4</sup> *Eugenics and Other Evils* (1922), by G. K. Chesterton. Mr. Chesterton attacks Eugenics as the embodiment of all that is evil and tyrannical in legislative tendency with more humorous sarcasm than understanding or relevance.
- P. 20. <sup>5</sup> Incestuous marriages between brother and sister, or father and daughter, have not been barred in all countries and at all times. Flinders Petrie, Sethe and Margaret Murray have given examples and the laws in ancient Egypt, Persia and Sumeria.
- P. 28. <sup>6</sup> The Encyclical Letter of Pius XI. on Christian Marriage contains references to Eugenics, steriliza-

## WEEDS IN THE GARDEN OF MARRIAGE

tion, birth control and kindred matters. It is dated December 31st, 1930. English translation published by Catholic Truth Society.

P. 34. <sup>7</sup> Capit. Aquisgran. ann. 817 c. xi.—see reference by H. C. Lea, *History of Sacerdotal Celibacy*, 3rd Ed., Vol. I., p. 156.

P. 46. <sup>8</sup> *Are We Civilized?* by R. H. Lowie (1930). Professor Lowie protests vigorously against 'American eugenists' whilst exhibiting ignorance of the works of scientific eugenists.

Pp. 58, 61, 68. <sup>9</sup> *The Clash of Culture and the Contact of Races*, by G. Pitt-Rivers (1927). A study of the laws of racial adaptability which explains the relation between race and culture and shows how some race types die out and are replaced by others. It deals also with the influences of inbreeding and outbreeding.

P. 61. <sup>10</sup> Dr. Raymond Pearl in "The Biology of Superiority," *American Mercury*, November, 1927.

P. 69. <sup>11</sup> Dr. F. C. S. Schiller on "The Eugenic Reform of the House of Lords," in *Eugenics Review*, January, 1929; and also in *The Nineteenth Century*, 1930.

P. 72. <sup>12</sup> Review of Maternal Mortality and Stillbirths in New York State, 1915-1925 (Deporte. Dept. of Health), by G. Pitt-Rivers, *Eugenics Review*, October, 1928.

P. 75. <sup>13</sup> "Henry Twitchin—an account of the Society's Most Generous Benefactor," by Leonard Darwin, *Eugenics Review*, July, 1930.

P. 76. <sup>14</sup> Ex Sir Thomas North's translation of Plutarch's *Lives of the Noble Germans and Romans*.

## SHORT LIST OF BOOKS RECOMMENDED

Carr-Saunders, *Eugenics*.

Crew, *Animal Genetics*.



## WEEDS IN THE GARDEN OF MARRIAGE

Leonard Darwin, *What is Eugenics?*

East, *Mankind at the Cross-Roads.*

Havelock Ellis, *The Task of Social Hygiene.*

Francis Galton, *Hereditary Genius, Inquiries into Human Faculty, and Essays in Eugenics.*

Julian Huxley, *Essays of a Biologist.*

Jennings, *The Biological Basis of Human Nature.*

Keith, *The Place of Prejudice in Modern Civilization.*

McDougall, *National Welfare and National Decay.*

Lloyd Morgan, *Eugenics and Environment.*

Popenhoe and Johnson, *Applied Eugenics.*

Ruggles-Gates, *Heredity and Eugenics.*

Schiller, *Eugenics and Politics.*

*Eugenics Review*—published quarterly by the Eugenics Society, 20, Grosvenor Gardens, London, S.W. 1.

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Laughlin, *Eugenical Sterilization in the United States.*





